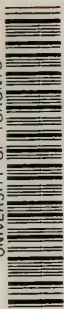


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CAII SALLUSTII CRISPI
CATILINA ET JUGURTHA.



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CAII SALLUSTII CRISPI

CATILINA ET JUGURTHA.

FOR USE IN SCHOOLS.

[edited]

BY

CHARLES MERIVALE, D.D.

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FASTI CONSULARES.

A.U. 631—691.

B.C. 123—63.

A.U. 631.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus, <i>postea</i> Balearicus.
B.C. 123.	T. Quinctius Flaminius.
A.U. 632.	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
B.C. 122.	C. Fannius Strabo.
A.U. 633.	L. Opimius.
B.C. 121.	Q. Fabius Maximus.
A.U. 634.	P. Manilius.
B.C. 120.	C. Papirius Carbo.
A.U. 635.	L. Cæcilius Metellus, <i>postea</i> Dalmaticus.
B.C. 119.	L. Aurelius Cotta.
A.U. 636.	M. Porcius Cato.
B.C. 118.	Q. Marcius Rex.
A.U. 637.	L. Cæcilius Metellus Diadematus.
B.C. 117.	Q. Mucius Scævola.
A.U. 638.	C. Licinius Geta.
B.C. 116.	Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus.
A.U. 639.	M. Æmilius Scaurus.
B.C. 115.	M. Cæcilius Metellus.
A.U. 640.	M. Acilius Balbus.
B.C. 114.	C. Porcius Cato.
A.U. 641.	C. Cæcilius Metellus Caprarius.
B.C. 113.	Cn. Papirius Carbo.
A.U. 642.	M. Livius Drusus.
B.C. 112.	L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.

A.U. 643.	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
B.C. 111.	L. Calpurnius Bestia.
A.U. 644.	M. Minucius Rufus.
B.C. 110.	Sp. Postumius Albinus.
A.U. 645.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus, <i>postea</i> Numidicus.
B.C. 109.	M. Junius Silanus.
A.U. 646.	Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
B.C. 108.	L. Hortensius (M. Aurelius Scaurus <i>suffect.</i>)
A.U. 647.	L. Cassius Longinus.
B.C. 107.	C. Marius.
A.U. 648.	C. Atilius Serranus.
B.C. 106.	Q. Servilius Cæpio.
A.U. 649.	P. Rutilius Rufus.
B.C. 105.	Cn. Mallius Maximus.
A.U. 650.	C. Marius II.
B.C. 104.	C. Flavius Fimbria.
A.U. 651.	C. Marius III.
B.C. 103.	L. Aurelius Orestes.
A.U. 652.	C. Marius IV.
B.C. 102.	Q. Lutatius Catulus.
A.U. 653.	C. Marius V.
B.C. 101.	M'. Aquilius.
A.U. 654.	C. Marius VI.
B.C. 100.	L. Valerius Flaccus.
A.U. 655.	M. Antonius.
B.C. 99.	A. Postumius Albinus.
A.U. 656.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
B.C. 98.	T. Didius.
A.U. 657.	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
B.C. 97.	P. Licinius Crassus.
A.U. 658.	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
B.C. 96.	C. Cassius Longinus.
A.U. 659.	L. Licinius Crassus.
B.C. 95.	Q. Mucius Scævola.

A.U. 660.	C. Cælius Caldus.
B.C. 94.	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
A.U. 661.	C. Valerius Flaccus.
B.C. 93.	M. Herennius.
A.U. 662.	C. Claudius Pulcher.
B.C. 92.	M. Perperna.
A.U. 663.	L. Marcus Philippus.
B.C. 91.	Sex. Julius Cæsar.
A.U. 664.	L. Julius Cæsar.
B.C. 90.	P. Rutilius Lupus.
A.U. 665.	Cn. Pompeius Strabo.
B.C. 89.	L. Porcius Cato.
A.U. 666.	L. Cornelius Sulla.
B.C. 88.	Q. Pompeius Rufus.
A.U. 667.	Cn. Octavius.
B.C. 87.	L. Cornelius Cinna.
A.U. 668.	L. Cornelius Cinna II.
B.C. 86.	C. Marius VII. (L. Valerius Flaccus II. <i>suffect.</i>)
A.U. 669.	L. Cornelius Cinna III.
B.C. 85.	Cn. Papirius Carbo.
A.U. 670.	Cn. Papirius Carbo II.
B.C. 84.	L. Cornelius Cinna IV.
A.U. 671.	L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus.
B.C. 83.	C. Norbanus Balbus.
A.U. 672.	C. Marius, C. f.
B.C. 82.	Cn. Papirius Carbo III. L. Cornelius Sulla, Dictator.
A.U. 673.	M. Tullius Decula.
B.C. 81.	Cn. Cornelius Dolabella. L. Cornelius Sulla, Dictator.
A.U. 674.	L. Cornelius Sulla II.
B.C. 80.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
A.U. 675.	P. Servilius Vatia.
B.C. 79.	Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

A.U. 676.	M. Æmilius Lepidus.
B.C. 78.	Q. Lutatius Catulus.
A.U. 677.	D. Junius Brutus.
B.C. 77.	Mam. Æmilius Lepidus.
A.U. 678.	Cn. Octavius.
B.C. 76.	C. Scribonius Curio.
A.U. 679.	L. Octavius.
B.C. 75.	C. Aurelius Cotta.
A.U. 680.	L. Licinius Lucullus.
B.C. 74.	M. Aurelius Cotta.
A.U. 681.	M. Terentius Varro.
B.C. 73.	C. Cassius Varus.
A.U. 682.	L. Gellius Publicola.
B.C. 72.	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus.
A.U. 683.	P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.
B.C. 71.	Cn. Aufidius Orestes.
A.U. 684.	Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
B.C. 70.	M. Licinius Crassus Dives.
A.U. 685.	Q. Hortensius.
B.C. 69.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus, <i>postea</i> Creticus.
A.U. 686.	L. Cæcilius Metellus.
B.C. 68.	Q. Marcius Rex.
A.U. 687.	C. Calpurnius Piso.
B.C. 67.	M'. Acilius Glabrio.
A.U. 688.	M'. Æmilius Lepidus.
B.C. 66.	Q. Volcatius Tullus.
A.U. 689.	L. Aurelius Cotta.
B.C. 65.	L. Manlius Torquatus.
A.U. 690.	L. Julius Cæsar.
B.C. 64.	C. Marcius Figulus.
A.U. 691.	M. Tullius Cicero.
B.C. 63.	C. Antonius.

INTRODUCTION.

CAIUS SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS was born at Amiternum, in the country of the Sabines, A.U. 668, B.C. 86, being nine years younger than Cato, fourteen younger than Cæsar, and twenty younger than Cicero. His family was Plebeian. We do not hear that any of the name obtained public distinction before the historian himself, who became Quæstor about the year B.C. 59, and tribune of the Plebs in 52. Little dependence can be placed on the *Declamatio in Sallustium*, a piece which is founded perhaps on the invective against him by Lenæus, a freedman of Pompeius; but according to the constant tradition of Roman antiquity, Sallust was, as there asserted, a dissipated man and a profligate politician, who attached himself to the popular party, and sought the offices of the state in succession, in order to finish his career with the enjoyment of a lucrative province, and the means of accumulating a large fortune. He was an active promoter of the prosecution of Milo for the murder of Clodius, B.C. 52, and thus perhaps ingratiated himself with the most factious of the parties in the city. The share he took in this business may have been

partly owing to the chastisement he is said to have received from Milo, for the seduction of his wife. (Varro, quoted by Gellius, xvii. 18.) In the year 50, at a moment when the spirits of the senatorial party were unusually elated, Censors were appointed, the first after a long interval, and the list of the senate was purged of many of the opposite faction upon the plea of scandalous life, or other personal disqualifications. Among the sufferers was Sallust, and his intrigue with Milo's wife has been alleged as the cause assigned. It is hardly probable however that such a cause could have been put forth at a time when profligacy was so common among the ranks of the nobility, still less that it could have been the real motive for his expulsion. Hereupon, it is affirmed, Sallust repaired to Cæsar's quarters in Gaul, and enrolled himself at once among his warmest partizans. Such is the statement of the author of the *Declamatio*, which however is not in itself of much value. On the contrary, Cicero speaks at a later period of Cæsar pardoning a Sallustius: *etiam Sallustio ignovit*: (*ad Att.* xi. 20), as a captured or converted opponent; and we know of no other Sallustius to whom he is likely to refer. But from this event we may, at all events, more confidently date the bitter hostility to the Roman oligarchy which Sallust displays throughout his writings.

The disgrace he had undergone did not prevent Sallust from succeeding, under Cæsar's supremacy, to

the high office of prætor, which he acquired in the year 47, the next after the battle of Pharsalia. This appointment restored him to a place in the Senate. He was employed in the following year in Cæsar's campaign in Africa, against the remnant of the senatorial party under Scipio and Cato. Upon its successful termination, he was left there as governor of the province of Numidia, which, upon the death of its king Juba, was incorporated with the possessions of the republic. It does not appear that he continued in this post beyond the usual term of one year; yet, in that short time, he contrived to amass the vast treasures for which he became afterwards notorious. His countrymen were shocked at the alleged profligacy of his conduct, especially, as we are told, after the vehement indignation he had expressed in his writings against the corruption and extortion of the Roman nobles. See Dion's *Roman History*, xliii. 9.

καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας λαβὼν ἔς τε τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐπήγαγε, καὶ τῷ Σαλουστίῳ, λόγῳ μὲν, ἄρχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ, ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψε. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐδωροδόκησε πολλὰ καὶ ἤρπασεν· ὥστε καὶ κατηγορηθῆναι αἰσχύνῃν αἰσχίστην ὀφλήσαι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγράμματα συγγράψας, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πικρὰ περὶ τῶν ἐκκαρπουμένων τινὰς εἰπὼν, οὐκ ἐμμύησατο τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς λόγους. Sallust was even menaced with an impeachment for the spoliation of his province; but it does not appear that he was brought to trial. He returned to Rome and formed the magnificent gardens, known by his name, on the

Pincian hill, which became eventually the property of the Emperors, and were a favourite resort of Augustus, Vespasian, Nerva, and other sovereign rulers. The story that he married Terentia, whom Cicero had divorced, is devoid of probability. Sallust lived from henceforth in luxurious retirement, having attained wealth and ease, the main objects of his ambition. He died B.C. 34, three years before the battle of Actium.

Some of the worst reflections upon Sallust's character are derived, as we have seen, from the *Declamatio in Sallustium*, the authenticity of which is at least doubtful. He had spoken disparagingly of Pompeius, calling him a man, *oris probi*, (some read, *improbi*) *animo inverecundo*, and Lenæus, Pompey's freedman, had attacked him furiously in consequence, describing him, among other things, as *nebulonem vita scriptisque monstrosam*, with which he coupled a charge of ignorance, affectation, and plagiarism. He is said to have been defended by Asconius Pedianus, who wrote a life of him, in the time of Augustus: but the unfavourable view of his character prevailed. Porcius Latro, a grammarian of the reign of Claudius, repeated the charges against him, and we have seen that Dion believed and propagated one, at least, of the gravest of them. We can only say that Dion, as is well known, generally inclines to the worst view of every man's character. Impressed with this concurrence of authorities, critics have commonly supposed

that the Sallustius, whose profligacy is noticed in the second satire of Horace's first book, is no other than the historian; for which however there is no further ground than the identity of name. Sallust left no descendants of his own, but he had a brother by whom the name was perpetuated; and the Crispus Sallustius to whom Horace addressed the second ode of his second book was the historian's grandnephew. The allusion there made to the wealth of Libya is the more appropriate, considering their relationship, and the probability that the person addressed inherited the fortune which had been accumulated in that country.

Latius regnes avidum domando
 Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
 Gadibus jungas, et uterque Pœnus,
 Serviat uni.

The extant works of Sallust are two historical pieces, on the conspiracy of Catilina, and the war with Jugurtha. He is believed to have written also a contemporary history of Rome, beginning with the insurrection of Lepidus, B.C. 78, and continued in five books to the year 66. This may have been intended as a continuation of the work of Sisenna on the civil wars of Sulla. See Vell. ii. 9. It has perished with the exception of a few considerable extracts from the speeches it contained, and a large number of detached sentences, collected from a variety of writers, and evincing the great and long-continued popularity of the work. Two extant epistles or

harangues addressed to Julius Cæsar, and entitled *Epistolæ de republica ordinanda*, have also been ascribed to Sallust, but their authenticity is very questionable.

The *Catilina*, or *Bellum Catilinarium*, is a history of the conspiracy of Catilina, B.C. 63. It contains in itself no distinct evidence of the date of its composition. Those who affirm on the authority of St Jerome (*in Jovin.* i. p. 52) that the author married Terentia, presume that subsequently to his marriage he would not have alluded to the disgrace of Terentia's sister, the Vestal Virgin whom Catilina was accused of seducing (see *Catil.* ch. 15). But as both the date and fact of the marriage are quite uncertain, such a presumption can be of little force for determining the period of this composition. Others again contend that Sallust would not have invented a speech for Cæsar (*Catil.* ch. 51), instead of giving the genuine oration, during Cæsar's actual lifetime, and therefore argue that the work must have been written as late as B.C. 44, the year of Cæsar's death. There can be no force, however, in this argument to those who know the indifference of Sallust, and of the ancients in general, to the authenticity of such rhetorical exercises as the harangues with which they studied to adorn their narratives. On the other hand, we have to set Dion's remarks about the inconsistency observed at the time between Sallust's conduct in his province, and the sentiments declared in his writings. Now

the *Jugurtha* was certainly written after his provincial administration, in B.C. 46; and we can hardly doubt therefore that Dion refers to the reflexions on the nobility at the beginning of the *Catilina*, which accordingly must have been written at an earlier period. That the *Jugurtha* was written after B.C. 46, may be safely inferred from the author's reference to the Punic books of king Hiempsal, which he consulted for it, or rather which had been explained to him (see *Jugurtha*, ch. 17), indicating clearly that he was himself on the spot at the time.

The *Catilina* and *Jugurtha* are what are denominated in modern times Monographies; *i. e.* narratives of a detached series of connected events; nor is it unlikely that the fragments of Sallust's *Histories* belong, in fact, to similar treatises on the war of Lepidus, the war of Spartacus, and possibly the wars of Sulla and Marius. Altogether, these works would have formed a pretty complete history of Roman affairs between the years B.C. 117 and 62. The events belonging to the earlier portion of this series had already been related by Roman writers. Sisenna had composed an account of the wars of Marius and Sulla; personal memoirs had been written by Rutilius Rufus, consul, B.C. 105, by Æmilius Scaurus, by Sulla himself, and by Lucullus. Of Sisenna's work at least the testimony both of Cicero and Sallust leaves us little to regret; and it does not appear that the ancients themselves made much use of those of the

distinguished statesmen mentioned above. Sallust therefore is the first Roman historian whose account of these times became generally accepted by his own countrymen as authoritative. He owes this distinction probably quite as much to the charm of his style, as to any presumed authenticity in his narration. Indeed he seems to have been the first of the Roman writers who made style a matter of primary importance. The idea however that he took Thucydides for his model, rests upon the occurrence of a few philosophical reflexions, which seem to be directly imitated from the Greek writer. In the mere form of Sallust's expressions it would be difficult to point out any such resemblances to his supposed master. Seneca speaks correctly of his *amputatæ sententiæ et verba ante expectatum cadentia*. The charge against him of affecting archaic words was made by his own contemporaries. Lenæus, above spoken of, calls him *priscorum Catonisque verborum ineruditissimum furem*. Another writer, Ateius the grammarian, was supposed to have assisted the historian by collecting antique words for him to interweave with his own language.

I cannot however distinguish any such character in Sallust's extant writings. In the *Catilina* and *Jugurtha* there is not, I believe, a single word used which is not also of frequent occurrence in contemporary and later writers. It is probable indeed that he clung to the old orthography of many words at a time when great innovations in that respect were

taking place, and even affected to recur to modes of spelling which were becoming obsolete. Some of the best MSS. continue to present antique forms of many words, and these we may suppose have been faithfully transmitted to us from the original exemplars. But even these fluctuate in their orthography, and in an edition intended for the use of youthful students it seems best to abide by the standard of the best age of Latin literature. Accordingly, in this edition, the nom. and acc. plural of nouns of the third declension are always written with *es*, not *is*: the termination of the superlative with *imus*, not *unus*: *verto* and its derivatives are spelt with *e*, not *o*: the abl. and dat. plural of the relative pronoun appears as *queis*, not *quis*: the gerundial form is written with *endo*, not *undo*; and so on in some other cases. Possibly the principle may be thought to be violated in the retention of the older form *ad~~t~~ineo* for *at~~t~~ineo*, &c.: and also in writing *lubido*, *Sulla*, and perhaps some other words according to the more ancient orthography. The genitives *Senati*, *tumulti*, *fide*, *die*, the dat. *usu*, &c. are retained as belonging not to Sallust's orthography, but to his grammar.

The prevalent notion of the great brevity of Sallust's style, is derived perhaps from the description of Seneca above cited. It has had the effect of inducing the older commentators, and especially Cortius, whose authority was considered paramount for many generations, to reject as insidious, in innumerable

places, the occurrence of the verb substantive after the partic. passive, and to expunge all repetitions of words which seemed superfluous to the sense of a passage, in spite of the concurrent testimony of the MSS. For instance, in one place (*Catil.* 51) the word *lex* occurs three times in one sentence: *Tum lex Porcia alieque leges paratæ sunt quibus legibus*, etc. But the fact is, that unless we are to suppose that his MSS., many of them very excellent ones, have been corrupted by officious transcribers beyond all others, Sallust is in some respects a writer more than usually redundant. Such in fact is generally the character of authors who write before the maturity of their language: and we may be sure that the affectation of cutting up sentences by the suppression of words which logically belong to them would be the vice of a later age, and foreign to the spirit of an ancient writer, especially of one who rather studied to copy a still remoter antiquity. We may conclude then that the *amputatæ sententiæ* referred to by Seneca, are the author's peculiar turns of thought, which are studiously abrupt and antithetical; the *verba ante expectatum cadentia* are certain harsh and jerking cadences in the composition, which are evidently prepared with a view to striking effects.

The text of the present edition is formed with due deference to the authority of the MSS. and of the citations of ancient writers. Several of the most disputed passages are quoted by the old Roman gram-

marians, and their reading of them is of course entitled to careful consideration.

The text given by Gerlach in his last edition, Berlin, 1852, very nearly corresponds, at last, after much fluctuation of opinion, with that of Kritz, Leipzig, 1828—1834, and, with the exceptions indicated above adopted for the convenience of the young reader, I shall be found to agree, I believe, in almost every case either with one or the other of these eminent critics. In two or three places I have ventured to omit a gross expression; a course which for my own part I could wish to see more extensively adopted in an age when the reading of Latin is becoming almost as common among women of polished education as in the good old times of Jane Grey and Elizabeth.

The annotations here offered to the student have been principally drawn from the variorum notes of Havercamp's edition, from Gerlach, and from Kritz. Much novelty of illustration is hardly to be expected upon a subject which has been so repeatedly treated, and most of the editors have done little more in this respect than copy from one another. The edition of Kritz however, which is mainly devoted to an examination of the author's grammatical constructions, is distinguished by great originality of research. I have appended his name only to a few of the notes; but my obligation to his learning and acumen are manifold throughout. Some use has also been made of the recent edition by Dietsch, which has only reached me while these sheets were printing.

In the commencement of the *Catilina* Sallust describes in general terms the profligacy of his contemporaries, and particularly of the class of candidates for public office and distinction. The character of the arch conspirator which he proceeds to draw is represented as a natural development of the licentiousness of the times, and the conspiracy itself appears to be the legitimate fruit of the general abandonment of principles, and prostration of public and private virtues. But in order fully to understand it, we must supply a serious omission on the historian's part, and give some account of the state of parties at Rome at the moment of this frightful explosion. The civil wars of Marius and Sulla had been a contest between the mass of the citizens marshalled by a few ambitious nobles, and headed by a fortunate soldier, and the ruling class of senators and patricians, who maintained with tenacity the exclusive privileges assured to them by an obsolete constitution. Their families had been ennobled by public office, and enriched by public service, and they strove to keep to themselves the exclusive enjoyment of these advantages. This class however had suffered a severe defeat in the admission of the Italians to the Roman franchise, which, after a sanguinary war, though successful in the field, they had been constrained eventually to concede. Marius at the head of the popular party had humbled them by the successive acquisition of no less than seven consulships. They had invoked the aid of their military champion Sulla. A bloody civil war

had ensued, with alternate success, and massacres had been perpetrated on both sides. Marius had died, and Sulla had ultimately established the ascendancy of the nobles or optimates, and in his dictatorship had imposed upon the nation a series of enactments called from his name *leges Corneliae*, for curtailing the prerogatives of the inferior orders, and confirming the supremacy of the senate as the ruling body of the state. The office of tribune particularly, the old constitutional safeguard of the Plebs, he had shorn of its principal functions, and he had excluded the knights from presiding along with the senate on the bench of justice. After three years' possession of the dictatorship, which had been decreed to him in perpetuity, Sulla abdicated his extraordinary functions, and retired into privacy. Immediately M. Æmilius Lepidus, a factious noble, had raised an insurrection, with the promise of restoring the popular rights, Catulus, his colleague in the consulship, had taken up arms at the bidding of the senate and optimates, and had succeeded in putting him down. But the senatorial party was never free from the machinations of discontented or ambitious men of its own order, who sought to raise themselves to preeminence by intriguing with the popular faction. M. Licinius Crassus, and Cn. Pompeius, who had recently obtained the surname of Magnus, becoming
3. c. 70 consuls, B.C. 56, rescinded some of Sulla's measures, and conciliated in some degree the favour of the depressed Marians. When however Pompeius was called

away from Rome to combat Mithridates the king of Pontus, the senate was persuaded to concede to him powers of unprecedented extent, the command namely of all the eastern provinces of the empire, for the sake of getting rid of him at the centre of affairs. During his absence rumours were rife of a fearful plot against the commonwealth, in which several men of high family and personal distinction were supposed to be concerned. The danger was believed to be pressing, and to combat it, the senate consented to the election to the consulship of a *new man*, M. Tullius Cicero, influenced partly by its reliance on his talents and activity, but partly, it may be believed, with a view to employ him as its instrument for the bold but hazardous *coup d'état* which it meditated.

The parties into which the Roman people were at this time divided were four : 1. The Senatorial, above described as the ruling class, comprising the greater number of the highest nobility, numbering perhaps an hundred or more great families, and constituting an oligarchy, powerful from its wealth, its long experience of office, and its almost hereditary command of the national armies. Among its leaders were Catulus, Lucullus, Sulpicius, Silanus, Scribonius, Hortensius ; and it had recently enlisted as its champions both Cicero and Cato : 2. The popular or Marian party, of whom Cæsar, a connexion both of Marius and of Cinna, was now the chief, the strength of which lay in the numerous families which had been

proscribed and excluded from office by Sulla,—in the favour of the lower classes of the city, and of a large portion of the knights, who were anxious to recover the privileges they had been deprived of, and to acquire more,—in the goodwill of the Italian communities, which had obtained the Roman franchise through the efforts of the leaders of this party at an earlier period,—and generally in the support of the provincials, who look forward to similar enfranchisement through the liberal policy which it continued to advocate : 3. The moderate aristocracy, who sought to mediate between these parties ; some, as Cicero at an earlier period, with a view to strengthen the existing constitution by reforming it, others, as Pompeius and Crassus, in order to make themselves independent of the control of a jealous oligarchy : 4. The discontented and turbulent class, mostly military adventurers, who had been raised to importance in the civil wars, and had lost their consideration upon the re-establishment of peaceful government. Rejected by the ruling oligarchy, they attached to themselves the men of broken fortunes of every order of the state, especially the veterans whom Sulla had planted on confiscated lands throughout Italy, and who had squandered their ill-gotten plunder, and were ready to embark upon any new enterprise to recruit their fortunes. Of this military faction Catilina was the most conspicuous chief. He had been himself one of Sulla's officers, and is said to have made himself

notorious even in his youth for rapacity and cruelty. He had killed with his own hand his brother-in-law Q. Cæcilius; he had tortured and slain Marius Grati-
Arpinum. dianus, a friend and fellow-townsmen of Cicero; he is said moreover to have murdered his own brother; nor does Sallust fail to mention other crimes of peculiar atrocity as generally ascribed to him.

Although we learn the story of Catilina's wickedness chiefly from the mouth of his enemies, the popularity he enjoyed among a large class of licentious and dissolute young nobles may serve rather to confirm than to invalidate it. Rome was thronged with men of this character, who shrank from no atrocity in the prospect of plunder or advancement, and were ready to lend all their influence to a leader, however justly infamous, whose abilities might promote their selfish ends. A deeper shade of suspicion, however, has been thrown upon the genuineness of the colours with which Cicero and Sallust have painted the arch conspirator, from the fact of his having been a candidate for the consulship, and therefore we must suppose not altogether unacceptable to a much larger number of honourable citizens. Is it possible, we ask ourselves, that a man generally suspected of aiming at an abolition of debts no less than the subversion of institutions, could have hoped for a preponderance of suffrages among the citizens of any regulated community? In the face however of the concurrent testimony of all our authorities, we

cannot doubt the general correctness of the charges against Catilina. Could they have been fairly questioned, we must suppose that Sallust, as a bitter enemy of his adversaries, would not have failed to suggest some extenuation of them. On the whole Sallust's history seems to be written with remarkable fairness. His character of his patron Cæsar exhibits no party bias, and his respect for Cato, the most determined of his opponents, is strongly felt and boldly expressed. He is accused of undervaluing Cicero's merit. It is difficult at least to fasten upon him any charge of overtly disparaging that statesman; though, were we to take Cicero's own account of the affair, or indeed those of some other writers, we should doubtless be disposed to rate the consul's importance at this time much higher than Sallust himself would allow us to understand. This is a point which must always be open to difference of opinion. It is not unreasonable, however, to believe that Cicero's influence has been generally overrated. The nobles had been long aware of the imminence of such an outbreak as that of Catilina: they were secretly well pleased at the opportunity it would give them to take up a bold attitude, and strike a blow, which, while it crushed the military faction, would inspire terror into both the Marians and the moderates. They were glad to use Cicero, as an able and popular man, but one who, as a *new man*, could be easily disowned and discarded if unsuccessful, as their instrument in this measure. Accordingly

they helped to raise him to the consulship at the critical moment, to the surprise of all the world, and even of himself, such an elevation having never before been accorded to one of his rank, except to the great military champion Marius. As soon as their object was attained and the outbreak crushed, the nobles suffered Cicero to drop. When Pompeius returned from Asia, and encouraged the impeachment with which Clodius threatened him, for his stretch of the consular prerogative, they drew back from his defence, and he fell without an arm held forth to save him. It then appeared how totally devoid he was of personal influence or substantial power in the state. From that time, though suffered to return from his exile, his part in public affairs was only secondary, and became indeed daily more trivial. During the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompeius he was neglected, his counsel disregarded, and himself almost driven contemptuously from the camp of the oligarchs. Cæsar condescended to solicit his countenance, but received his refusal with the coldest indifference. The conspirators against Cæsar did not care to consult him, and after they had struck their blow were but little elated by his tardy adhesion. It was not till the liberators, Brutus, Cassius, and the rest, had quitted Rome for the East, till Antonius had taken up arms in the north of Italy, till Octavius had repaired to his legions to watch him, till even the consuls Hirtius and Pansa had marched forth from

the city, that Cicero became at last the first man in the senate and the forum. For the few months, indeed, next ensuing he continued to take the lead in the domestic affairs of the republic; his influence within that sphere became really effective; he enacted a great part, and crowned his long political life with a glorious ἀπιστεία. It is no reflection upon the wisdom and integrity of Cicero's public conduct to point out the inferiority of the position he was allowed to hold among his contemporaries; on the contrary, it may serve to display more fully the contrast between his honourable character and the selfish corruption of his times, that neither his talents nor his genuine patriotism availed to place him on the eminence from whence he could save the state from its conflicting factions. It is due however to Sallust to shew that the secondary place he assigns him is not really below the truth, nor to be ascribed to any unworthy jealousy on the part of the historian.

The *Jugurtha*, it must be admitted, is a work of far less interest than the *Catilina*. Farther removed himself from the period to which it refers, and with no personal knowledge of the events and characters it brings before us, Sallust in the second of his histories enters into an unequal rivalry with his earlier achievement. Nevertheless there is much life and expression in his portraiture of the times at Rome; the ambition of the nobles and the growing corruption of the people, as there represented, prepare us for the

crisis of the civil wars which was soon about to be developed. The early career of Marius and Sulla, their selfish ambition and personal antagonism, serve as a preface to the records of slaughter and proscription with which their names were to become conspicuously blended. Jugurtha himself, the crafty Numidian, bold and active, with inexhaustible resources and devoid of scruples, combining the subtilty of the Carthaginian with the ferocity of the Moor, is interesting not only on his own account, but as a type of the African character, such as it was afterwards exemplified in Tacfarinas, and recently in Abd-el-kader. The struggle of the serpent and the eagle, so favourite a subject with poets and painters, has been delineated by no historian more vividly than by Sallust.

In the present revised edition the readings of Kritz's text (Lips. 1828) have been generally adopted, and his system of punctuation followed. The notes have been carefully corrected, and some addition made to them. It will be observed that many idiomatic passages from the poets have been introduced, to assist the understanding of the text, but partly also to show how much the style of Sallust approaches to that of poetry, and still more from the idea that youthful readers will take more interest in verse than in prose illustrations, and better retain what they learn from them.

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI

CATILINA.

I. OMNES homines qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus summa ope niti decet ne vitam silentio transeant, veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est; animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur ingenii quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere; et, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est; virtus clara aeternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortales certamen fuit, vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius quam incipias consulto, et, ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens alterum alterius auxilio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit) diversi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur; sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et

Athenienses coepere urbes atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare ; tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quodsi regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita uti in bello valeret, aequalibus atque constantius sese res humanae haberent ; neque aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret. Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur. Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam sicuti peregrinantes transegere ; quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta aestimo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enim vero is demum mihi vivere atque frui animam videtur qui, aliquo negotio intentus, praeclari facinoris aut artis bonae famam quaerit. Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicae ; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est. Vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet ; et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere ; primum quod facta dictis sunt exaequanda ; dehinc quia plerique, quae delicta reprehenden-

deris, malevolentia et invidia dicta putant; ubi de magna virtute et gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit; supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rempublicam latus sum; ibique mihi adversa multa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigeabant. Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur; ac me, cum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem, qua ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur, ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam aetatem a republica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere, neque vero agrum colendó aut venando, servilibus officiis, intentum aetatem agere; sed a quo incepto studio me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere; eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicae animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinae conjuratione, quam verissime poteró, paucis absolvam: nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existimo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. Lucius Catilina nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis grata fuere; ibique juven-

tutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediae, vigiliae, algoris, supra quam cuiquam credibile est; animus audax, subdolos, varius, cuius rei libet simulator ac dissimulator; alieni appetens, sui profusus; ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem Lucii Sullae libido maxima invaserat reipublicae capiendae, neque id quibus modis assequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopiā rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum; quae utraque his artibus auxerat quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessima ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere, ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiaeque, quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint, ut paullatim immutata ex pulcherrima pessima ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint. Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera, satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique

finitimi bello tentare; pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri, metu perculsi, a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari; hostibus obviam ire; libertatem, patriam, parentesque armis tegere: post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant; magisque dandis quam accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant; delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum, reipublicae consultabant; hi, vel aetate vel curae similitudine PATRES appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae reipublicae fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque convertit, immutato more, annua imperia, binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

VII. Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum brevi creverit; tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. Jam primum juvenus, simulac belli patiens erat, in castris per laboris usum militiam discebat: magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maximum certamen inter ipsos erat: sic se quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, propera-

bat; eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant; laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant; gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem quibus in locis maximas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbes natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubricine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestimo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur. Sed, quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui ea fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis eam potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano nunquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxime erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; optimus quisque facere, quam dicere; sua ab aliis benefacta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

IX. Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxima, minima avaritia erat; jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. Jurgia, discordias, similitates cum hostibus exercebant; cives cum civibus de virtute certabant; in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicis fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxima documenta haec habeo, quod saepius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tar-

dius revocati bello excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsī loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis quam metu imperium agitabant, et accepta injuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

X. Sed ubi labore atque justitia respublica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, aemula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant, saevire Fortuna, ac miscere omnia, coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, iis otium, divitiae, optandae aliis, oneri miseriaeque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperii cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque artes bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit; ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re sed ex commodo aestimare; magisque vultum quam ingenium bonum habere. Haec primo paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari: post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata; imperium ex justissimo atque optimo crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. Sed primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat; quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus et ignavus aequae sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea quasi venenis malis imbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat:

semper infinita, insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta republica, ex bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat; loca amoena, voluptaria facile in otio feroces militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari; ea privatim ac publice rapere; delubra spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant; ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.

XII. Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci coepit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere; rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. Operae pretium est, quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant; neque victis quidquam praeter injuriae licentiam eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissimi homines,

per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri victores hostibus reliquerant; proinde quasi injuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quae nisi his qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constructa esse: quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe quas honeste habere licebat abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido ganeae, ceterique cultus, non minor incesserat...vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius quam somni cupido esset; non famem aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Haec juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile lubricinibus carebat; eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

XIV. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se, tanquam stipatorum, ceteras habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, ... bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum aë grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret, praeterea, omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis, aut pro factis iudicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat; postremo, omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat; ii Catilinae proximi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adolesecentium familiaritates adpetebat; eorum

animi, molles et aetate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam uti cujusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere, aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo, neque sumptui, neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. ...

XV. Jam primum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestae, alia hujusmodi contra jus fasque. Postremo, captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cujus, praeter formam, nihil unquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta aetate, pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis, neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere; post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat: si causa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat, nihilo minus insontes, sicuti sontes, circumvenire, jugulare: scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum per omnes terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae veteris

memores, civile bellum exoptabant, opprimendae reipublicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus; Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes; senatus nihil sane intentus; tutae tranquillaeque res omnes; sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

XVII. Igitur circiter Kalendas Junias, L. Caesare et C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos adpellare; hortari alios, alios tentare; opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quae voluit, in unum omnes convocat, quibus maxima necessitudo et plurimum audaciae inerat. Eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullae, Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius: praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant praeterea complures paullo occultius consilii hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. Ceterum juvenus pleraque, sed maxime nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat; quibus in otio vel magnifice, vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem, malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina fuit; de qua quam verissime potero dicam. L. Tullo M' Lepido consulibus P. Autronius et P. Sulla, legibus ambitus interrogati, poenas dederant. Post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverat. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobiles, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius circa Nonas Decembres consilio communicato parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere; ipsi, fascibus correptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plurisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romanam pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant ea res consilium diremit.

XIX. Postea Piso in eiteriorem Hispaniam quaestor pro praetore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat; quippe foedum hominem a republica procul esse volebat; simul, quia boni complures praesidium in eo putabant; et jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est. Sunt qui

ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati; alii autem equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem aggressos; nunquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa antea perpressos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina ubi eos, quos paullo ante memoravi, convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos appellare et cohortari, in abditam partem aedium secedit; atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit. "Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio, in manibus frustra fuissent; neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere; simul quia vobis eadem quae mihi bona malaque intellexi, nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego quae mente agitavi, omnes jam antea diversi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, quum considero, quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam, postquam respublica in paucorum potentium jus atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges tetrarchae vectigales esse; populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate, iis obnoxii, quibus si respublica valeret formidini essemus. Itaque omnis

gratia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula, repulsas, judicia, egestatem. Quae quousque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem praestat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enim vero, pro deum atque hominum fidem! victoria in manu nobis est; viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantum modo incepto opus est; cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium inest, tolerare potest illis divitias superare, quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas, aut amplius, domos continuare; nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Quum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen summa lubidine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum; mala res, spes multo asperior: denique, quid reliqui habemus, praeter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa quam saepe optastis, libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt! fortuna omnia victoribus praemia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magna, magis quam oratio hortentur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utimini: neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam; nisi forte animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis."

XXI. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus

mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quiescere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret quae condicio belli foret; quae praemia armis peterent; quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quae bellum atque libido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum: cum eo se consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpat omnes bonos; suorum unumquemque nominans laudare: admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacres videt, cohortatus ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad iurandum populares sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem, vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse; inde quum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicut in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eo dictitare fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existimabant ab his, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

XXIII. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus; quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas quam audacia; neque reticere quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare; prorsus neque dicere neque facere quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, vetus consuetudo; cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montesque polliceri coepit; minari interdum ferro, nisi obnoxia foret; postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curii caussa cognita, tale periculum reipublicae haud occultum habuit; sed, sublato auctore de Catilinae conjuratione, quae quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit. | Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

XXIV. Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius; quod factum primo populares conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur; sed in dies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam Faesulas ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciendi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo iugentes sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant; post, ubi aetas tantummodo quaestui neque

luxuriae modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi vel interficere.

XXV. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Graecis atque Latinis docta; psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probae; multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; lubricine sic accensa ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci: prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proximum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant. Namque, a principio consulatus sui, multa pollicendo per Fulviam, effecerat ut Q. Curius, de quo paullo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae perpulerat, ne contra rempublicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat.

Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinae neque petito, neque insidiae quas consuli in campo fecerat, prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte tentaverat, aspera foedaque evenerant.

XXVII. Igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quemdam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri; consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere; ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere; hortari uti semper intenti paratique essent; dies noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo, ubi multa agitantia nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conjunctionis principes convocat per M. Porcium Laecam; ibique, multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet "se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem quam ad capienda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum obficere."

XXVIII. Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius, senator, constituere ea nocte paullo post cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improvviso domi suae imparatum confodere. Curius ubi intelligit quantum periculi consuli impendat, propere per Fulviam dolum qui parabatur enunciat. Ita illi janua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant.

Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat; praeterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. Ea quum Ciceroni nunciarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit DARENT OPERAM CONSULES NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxima permittitur; exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque cives; domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere: aliter, sine populi jussu, nullius earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. Post paucos dies L. Saenius senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine, ante diem VI. Kalendas Novembres. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant; alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi: hi utrique ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent

calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; hisque permissum, "uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent." Ad hoc, "si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum; libero impunitatem ejus rei, et sestertia ducenta;" itemque decrevere, "uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuarentur pro cujusque opibus; Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur, iisque minores magistratus praessent."

XXXI. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies erat; ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnes tristitia invasit; festinare, trepidare; neque loco, nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere; suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus reipublicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus inceserat, afflictae sese; manus supplices ad caelum tendere; miserari parvos liberos; rogitare; omnia pavere; superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriaeque diffidere. At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi praesidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo dissimulandi causa et ut sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam ejus timens, seu ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed ubi ille assedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplici

postulare, "Patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent; ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne existimarent, sibi patricio homini, cujus ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita republica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae." Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam."

XXXII. Dein se ex curia domum proripuit: ibi multa secum ipse volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intelligebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factum credens exercitum augere, ac prius quam legiones scriberentur antecapere quae bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, ceterisque quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirmet, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent; sese prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum. Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujusmodi:

XXXIII. "Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate feneratorum plerique patriae, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more majorum lege uti, neque

amisso patrimonio liberum corpus habere; tanta saevitia feneratorum atque praetoris fuit. Saepe majores vestrum, miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis suis inopiae opitulati sunt; ac novissime memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem aeris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis argentum aere solutum est. Saepe ipsa plebes aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratum, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum caussa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortales sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus; legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis; neve eam nobis necessitudinem imponatis, ut quaeramus quonam modo ulți maxime sanguinem nostrum pereamus.”

XXXIV. Ad haec Q. Marcius: “Si quid ab senatu petere vellent ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo unquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.” At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea optimo cuique litteras mittit: “Se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci; non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur.” Ab his longe diversas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat: earum exemplum infra scriptum:

XXXV. "L. Catilina Q. Catulo: Egregia tua fides, re cognita, gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. Quamobrem défensionem in novo consilio non statui parare; satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam, me dius fidius, veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum caussam pro mea consuetudine suscepi; non quin aes alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, cum et alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae suis filiaeque copiis persolveret; sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsa suspitione alienatum sentiebam. Hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus. Plura quum scribere vellem, nunciatum est vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuaeque fidei trado: eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto."

XXXVI. Sed ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostes judicat; ceterae multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis. Praeterea decernit, uti consules delectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi praesidio sit. Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxime miserabile visum; cui quum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia

domita armis paterent, domi otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluerent, fuere tamen cives qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine neque praemio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat; tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. Neque solum illis aliena mens erat qui conscii conjurationis fuerant; sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinae incepta probabat. Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate quibus opes nullae sunt bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero praeceptis ierat multis de caussis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime praestabant; item alii per dedecora patrimoniis amissis; postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat; hi Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant. Deinde multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites uti regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis forent, ex victoria talia sperabant. Praeterea, juvenus quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat; eos atque alios omnes malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum est homines egestes, malis moribus, maxima spe, reipublicae juxta

ac sibi consuluisse. Praeterea quorum victoria Sullae parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum exspectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam quam minus valere ipsi malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

XXXVIII. Nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus, tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adolescentes, summam potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animusque ferox erat, coepere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiendo atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senati specie pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars, quo senati auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant: neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter excercebant.

XXXIX. Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes imminutae, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere; ceteros judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent. Sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandi spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quodsi primo proelio Catilina superior aut aequa manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas

republicam oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt; in his A. Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit. Iisdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebatur, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum cives, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.

XL. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium datur, uti legatos Allobrogum requiratur, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli; existimans, publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat, atque eos noverat; itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis et quasi dolens ejus casum requirere coepit, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?" Postquam illos videt "queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare:" "At ego," inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maximam spem adducti Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur; nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum

D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consilii propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium accersit, quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo praesente conjurationem aperit; nominat socios, praeterea multos cujusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset; deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit.

XLII. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae; at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna reipublicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cujus patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis praecipit, ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant.

XLIII. Iisdem fere temporibus in Gallia Citeriore atque Ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat. Namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul agebant; nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer praetor ex senati consulto, caussa cognita, in vincula conjecerat; item in Ulteriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciae legatus praeerat.

XLIII. At Romae Lentulus eum ceteris, qui

principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut videbantur, magnis copiis, constituerant uti, quum Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis concione habita quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissimi invidiam optimo consuli imponeret; eo signo proxima nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur; Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque, quibus insidiae parabantur, fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, cum vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium; sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxima pars, parentes interficerent; simul, caede et incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter haec parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum; illos dubitando, et dies prolatando, magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse; seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. Sed Allobroges, ex praecepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium ceteros conveniant; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad cives perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant: Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quemdam, Crotoniensem, mittit, uti Allobroges prius quam domum per-

gerent cum Catilina, data et accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est: "Quis sim, ex eo quem ad te misi cognosces. Fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse; consideres, quid tuae rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis." Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: "quum ab senatu hostis iudicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse quae jusserit; ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere."

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptinio praetoribus imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venere, et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinium obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus, ac vitae diffidens, veluti hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.

XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis omnia propere per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere. Nam laetabatur, intelligens conjuratione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porro autem anxius erat, dubitans, in

maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdendae reipublicae credebat. Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Q. Coeparium quemdam, Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: Coeparius, paullo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magnaque frequentia ejus ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit; Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. Volturcius interrogatus "de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid, aut qua de caussa, consilii habuisset?" primo fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia uti gesta erant aperit, docetque, "se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Coepario socium adscitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea conjuratione esse." Eadem Galli fatentur; ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt praeter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat: "ex libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea; se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore." Igitur perlectis lit-

teris, quum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, "uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus, item ceteri in liberis custodiis haberentur." Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinus M. Crasso, Coeparius, nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus erat, Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

XLVIII. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae consilia exsecrari, Cicero-nem ad caelum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora praedae magis quam detrimento fore; incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat; quippe cui omnes copiae in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is cum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset, jussus a consule quae sciret edicere, eadem fere quae Volturcius de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de itinere hostium senatum edocet: praeterea "se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nunciaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex conjuratione deprehensi terrerent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret, et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur." Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem maximis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars, tamen etsi verum existimabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis lenienda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex nego-

tiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant, "indicem falsum," deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit: "Tarquinius indicium falsum videri; eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem faciendam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem mentitus esset." Erant eo tempore qui existimarent illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius, appellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum aiebant, ne Crassus more suo suscepto malorum patrocínio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

XLIX. Sed iisdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque gratia, neque precibus, neque pretio Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges aut per alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo graves inimicitias exercebant; Piso oppugnatus in iudicio repetundarum, propter cuiusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema aetate, maximis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur, quod, privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maximis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumeundo, atque ementiendo quae se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque adeo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui praesidii caussa cum telis erant circum aedem Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine,

seu animi nobilitate impulsī, quo studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.

L. Dum haec in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem, per nuncios, familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, ut grege facto cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert, "quid de his fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant." Sed eos paullo ante frequens senatus judicaverat, "contra rempublicam fecisse." Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his qui in custodiis tenebantur, praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat; isque postea, permotus oratione C. Caesaris, pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quod de ea re, praesidiis additis, referendum censuerat. Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule hujusmodi verba locutus est:

LI. "Omnes homines, Patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet ubi illa obficiunt; neque quisquam omnium lubrici simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis

ingenium, valet: si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, Patres conscripti, qui reges atque populi ira aut misericordia impulsus male consuluerint; sed ea malo dicere, quae majores nostri contra lubidinem animi recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico quod cum rege Perse gessimus Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque adversa nobis fuit; sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quam injuriae causa bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, quum saepe Carthaginenses et in pace et per inducias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, nunquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illis jure fieri posset quaerebant. Hoc idem providendum est, Patres conscripti, ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus, quam vestra dignitas; neu magis irae vestrae quam famae consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium approbo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, his utendum censeo quae legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, composite atque magnifice casum reipublicae miserati sunt; quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent, enumeravere; raptae virgines, pueros; divelli liberos a parentum complexu; matres familiarum pati quae victoribus collibuissent; fana atque domos exspoliari; caedem, incendia fieri; postremo, armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed per deos immortales! quo illa oratio pertinuit? an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret?

Scilicet quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovet, eum oratio accendet! Non ita est: neque cuiquam mortalium injuriae suae parvae videntur: multi eas gravius aequo habuere. Sed alia aliis licentia est, Patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt; qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem habent, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxima fortuna minima licentia est; neque studere, neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet; quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego sic existimo, Patres conscripti, omnes cruciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse; sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis sceleris obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paullo severior fuit. D. Silanum virum fortem atque strenuum certo scio quae dixerit studio reipublicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere; eos mores, eam modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia non mihi crudelis, quid enim in tales homines crudele fieri potest? sed aliena a republica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, quum praesertim diligentia clarissimi viri, consulis, tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possumus equidem dicere, id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudii locum esse. Sed, per deos immortales! quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos

animadverteretur? An, quia lex Porcia vetat? at aliae leges item condemnatis civibus animam non eripi, sed in exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari quam necari? quid autem acerbum, aut grave nimis in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin, quia levius? qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, quum eam in majore neglexeris? At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicae decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidet, quidquid evenierit: ceterum vos, Patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex bonis orta sunt; sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii devictis Atheniensibus triginta viros imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo coepere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare: ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri. Post, ubi paulatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos lubricinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas servitute oppressa stultae laetitiae graves poenas dedit. Nostra memoria victor Sulla quum Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicae creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos, factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo aut vas aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, post paullo ipsi trahebantur; neque prius finis

jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnes suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus, vereor: sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi; ubi hoc exemplo per senati decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur? Majores nostri, Patres conscripti, neque consilii neque audaciae unquam eguere; neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt; postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostes idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur; imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore, Graeciae morem imitati, verberibus animadvertabant in cives, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valere, circumveniri innocentes, alia hujusmodi fieri coepere; tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus exilium damnatis permissum est. Hanc ego causam, Patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinae? minime; sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia quae maxime opibus valent; ne quis de his postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existimare,

eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium futurum.”

LII. Postquam Caesar dicendi finem fecit, ceteri verbo alius alii varie adsentiebantur; at M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujusmodi orationem habuit: “Longe mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, quum res atque pericula nostra considero, et quum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, aris atque focus suis bellum paravere: res autem mouet, cavere ab illis, quam, quid in illis statuamus, consultare. Nam cetera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit frustra judicia implores; capta urbe nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortales! vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris quam rempublicam fecistis: si ista, cujuscumque modi sunt, quae amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium praebere vultis, expergiscimini aliquando, et capessite rempublicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus, neque de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Saepe numero, Patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci; saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortales ea caussa adversos habeo. Qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubricum malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma erat; opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum, aut quam magnificentum imperium populi Romani sit, sed cujus

haec cumque modi videntur, nostra, an nobiscum una hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat. Jam pridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amisimus; quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur: eo respublica in extremo sita est. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus aerarii; ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et dum paucis sceleratis parcunt bonos omnes perditum eant. Bene et composite C. Caesar paullo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo, falsa existimans ea quae de inferis memorantur; diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, foeda atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit "pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos;" videlicet timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis aut a multitudine conducta, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit: sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. Quare, quum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuatis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paululum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existimare, majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrimam eam nos haberemus; quippe

sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum, major nobis copia quam illis est. Sed alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubrico obnoxios. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae, aut gratiae servitis; eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego haec omitto. Conjuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere; Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini Romano ad bellum accersunt; dux hostium supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid intra moenia deprehensis hostibus faciatis? Misereamini censeo,—deliquere homines adolescentuli per ambitionem,—atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Nae ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est; sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxime; sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maximis saepe periculis servavere. Non votis neque suppliciiis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, prospera omnia cedunt: ubi secordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros T. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverit, necari jussit; atque ille egregius

adolescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit: vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet vita cetera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus unquam ullis pepercit: ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiae, nisi iterum jam patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Caepario loquar? Quibus si quidquam unquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republica habuissent. Postremo, Patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget: alii intra moenia, in sinu urbis sunt hostes: neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occulte potest: quo magis properandum est. Quare ita ego censeo: quum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxima pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem, incendia, alia foeda atque crudelia facinora in cives patriamque paravisse, de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum."

LIII. Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes itemque senatus magna pars sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad caelum ferunt; alii alios increpantes timidos vocant; Cato clarus atque magnus habetur; senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quae res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam saepenumero parva

manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse; cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc, saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse; facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus respublica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, sicuti effeta aetate parentum, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, ingenti virtute, diversis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato, et C. Caesar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. Igitur his genus, aetas, eloquentia, prope aequalia fuere; magnitudo animi par, item gloria; sed alia alii. Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo, Cato nihil largiendo gloriam adeptus. In altero miseris perfugium, in altero malis pernicies; illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo Caesar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua negligere, nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxime severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque fac-

tione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat; esse, quam videri, bonus malebat: ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis sequebatur.

LV. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factum ratus noctem quae instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros quae supplicium postulabat, parare jubet; ipse, dispositis praesidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit ceteris per praetores. Est locus in carcere, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paullulum ascenderit ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera, lapideis fornicibus vineta; sed incultu, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium quibus praeceptum erat laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius ex clarissima gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Caepario eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

LVI. Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, cohortes pro numero militum complet: deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, aequaliter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, quum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii praeacutas sudes portabant. Sed, post-

quam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montes iter facere, modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam versus castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat prope diem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul alienum suis rationibus existimans, videri caussam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

LVII. Sed postquam in castra nuncius pervenit Romae conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo, Cethego, ceteris, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumptum, plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montes asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existimans, quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat; utpote qui magno exercitu, locis aequioribus expeditus, in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugae neque praesidii ullam spem, optimum factum ratus in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quamprimum configere. Itaque concione advocata, hujuscemodi orationem habuit:

LVIII. "Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba

virtutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet : quem neque gloria, neque pericula excitant, nequidquam hortere ; timor animi auribus obfcit. Sed ego vos quo pauca monerem advocavi ; simul uti caussam consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, secordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantum ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit ; quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero quo in loco res nostrae sint, juxta necum omnes intelligitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant : diutius in his locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis ; et quum proelium inibitis memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris portare. Si vincimus omnia nobis tuta erunt ; commeatus abunde, coloniae atque municipia patebunt : sin metu cesserimus eadem illa adversa fient ; neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet : nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus ; illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro potentia paucorum. Quo audacius aggredimini, memores pristinae virtutis ! Licuit nobis cum summa turpitudine in exilio aetatem agere ; potuistis nonnulli Romae, amissis bonis, alienas opes exspectare. Quia illa foeda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. Si haec relinquere vultis, audacia

opus est : nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, quum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in proelio iis maximum est periculum, qui maxime timent : audacia pro muro habetur. Quum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vestra aestimo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus vestra me hortantur ; praeterea necessitudo quae etiam timidos fortes facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. Quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis ; neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini, quam virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

LIX. Haec ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus, signa canere jubet, atque instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit ; dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montes et ab dextra rupes aspera, octo cohortes in fronte constituit ; reliqua signa in subsidio arctius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnes lectos et evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextera, Faesulanum quemdam in sinistra parte curare jubet ; ipse tum libertis et colonis propter aquilam adsistit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus aeger, quod proelio adesse nequibat M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortes veteranas, quas tumulti caussa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis

locat. Ipse equo circumiens unumquemque nominans appellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint, se contra latrones inermes, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis cernere. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus, aut praefectus, aut legatus, aut praetor cum magna gloria fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LX. Sed ubi omnibus rebus exploratis Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortes paullatim incedere jubet; idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis proelium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt; maxima vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis accersere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire; strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam in medios hostes inducit, eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus aggreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinae dignitatis, in confertissimos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. Sed confecto proelio, tum vero cerneret, quanta audacia quantaque vis animi fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere, quem quisque vivus pugnando

locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors praetoria disjecerat, paullo diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulum etiam spirans ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia, neque in proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus est; ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat; nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in proelio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem qui de castris visendi aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum, reperiebant: fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia, moeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

1. **Omnes]** The MSS. generally read *omnis*, and this in the age of Cicero and Sallust, according to the grammarians, was the usual orthography of the nom. and accus. plur. of nouns in *is*, gen. sing. not increasing gen. plur. in *ium*. Copyists frequently changed the termination to *es*, the later form, for the sake of clearness: in some instances they left *is*, mistaking it perhaps for a nom. or gen. sing. as *Catil.* 18. nonas Decembris, and 31. omnis tristitia invasit. Probably the usage always fluctuated. In this edition the later form in *es* is preserved throughout to obviate any difficulty in construction.

2. **Sese student: i. q. simply student]** This construction is not unusual with verbs of *wishing, seeking, &c.* Compare Cic. *de Off.* i. 19. principem se esse mavult quam videri; ii. 20. ille gratum se videri studet; for princeps, gratus videri. Corn. Nepos, *in Vit. Eumen.* 8. illa phalanx non parere se ducibus sed imperare postulabat. Compare another instance in Sallust, *Jug.* 14. vellem potius ob mea quam ob majorum meorum beneficia posse me a vobis auxilium petere. And again, *Catil.* 7. certamen...se quisque hostem ferire.

3. **Ceteris animalibus]** Ovid contrasts man with the other animals in similar language, *Metam.* i. 84:

Pronaque cum spectent animalia caetera terram
Os homini sublime dedit.

Sil. Ital. xv. 84:

Nonne vides hominum ut celsos ad sidera vultus
Sustulerit Deus, ac sublimia fluxerit ora,
Cum pecudes volucrumque genus formasque ferarum
Segnem atque obscoenau passim stravisset in alvum?

Compare Persius, *Sat.* ii. 61: "

O curvae in terras animae et coelestium inanes.

Varro: Fabre compactum animal hominem quis ferat sic pecu-
atim ire? Seneca: Nemo usque adco tardus et hebes et de-
missus in terram est, ut ad divina non crigatur. Juvenal, xv.
117. of animals, prona et terram spectantia.

4. **Transeant]** "Pass through life:" passively, as opposed to *agant vitam*, "transact, do the business of life." Seneca, *Epist.* 93. hoc a me exigo ne velut per tenebras aevum emetiar; ut agam vitam, non ut praetervehar. *De Prov.* 4. transisti sine adversario vitam. *Pers. Sat.* v. 60:

Tum crassos transisse dies, lucemque palustrem,
Et sibi jam seri vitam iugemuere relictam.

5. **Ventri obedientia]** Aurel. Victor, of the Emperor Claudius, ventri foede obediens: venter, the natural appetites. *Persius, Prol. in Sat.* 12. Magister artis ingenique largitor Venter.

6. **Animi imperio]** The soul is commonly represented as the ruler of the body. *Comp. Cic. de Rep.* iii. Deus homini, animus imperat corpori. *Senec. Nat. Quaest.* vii. 24. habere nos animum eujus imperio et impellimur et revocamur. *Epist.* 114. rex noster est animus. *Claudian, iv. Cons. Hon.* 234:

hanc alta capitis fundavit in arce
Mandatricem operum, prospecturamque labori.

7. **Utimum]** *Uti* generally in a good sense, to employ to a good purpose, to enjoy the use of. Here the verb belongs strictly to *imperio* only, but governs *servitio* also indirectly by the figure zeugma: i. e. "we enjoy the government of the soul, but suffer the servitude of the body." *Comp. Lucan, ii.* 131:

Ille fuit vitae Mario modus, omnia passo
Quae peior fortuna potest, atque omnibus uso
Quae melior.

8. **Quo mihi rectius videtur]** "Wherefore it seems to me the more right." Or more exactly, "so much the more right does it seem to me." *Comp. eo profusius, c.* 13.

9. **Ingenii]** Varro, contemporary with Sallust, introduced the double *ii* in these genitives. Later writers, imitating ancient spelling, frequently resorted to the single *i*. Hence the MSS. fluctuate. See Spengel on Varro, *de Lingua Lat.* p. 10. In this edition the double *ii* is preserved throughout, as the usual form.

10. **Opibus]** "Resources." *Vires* semper apud Sall. sunt corporis vires. *Dietsch.*

11. **Maxime]** Caesar wrote *maximus, optimus*. *Quintil. Inst.* i. 7. Before him the *u* was commonly written, but not always: *maximos* is found in the inscription of the Duilian column. In this edition the form in *i* is retained.

12. **Nam divitiarum]** Compare Sallust, *Jugur.* 2. igitur praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis et alia hujusmodi omnia alicui dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. *Cf. Tac. Agric.* 46.

13. **Fluxa]** "Fleeting," "fading;" *fluidus*, that which fleets or flows naturally; *fluxus*, that which becomes so by corruption or degeneracy, therefore generally of artificial things: but this distinction is not uniformly preserved. Here translate "fading," or "evanescent," as opposed to *clara*. "Beauty fades and decays, virtue shines and endures."

14. **Habetur]** Not "is esteemed," as implying men's opinion of it, but in its more proper sense: "virtue is a noble and eternal possession." So again *Catil.* 58. *audacia pro muro habetur*. Sallust often gives this force to the active also, as *Jugur.* 94. *toto die intentos praelio Numidas habuerat*. Dietsch.

15. **Inter mortales]** More emphatic, as being more universal, than *homines*; as we say *mankind* for *men*. Comp. A. Gellius, xiii. 28. who gives a whole chapter to the consideration of these words, taking for his text an expression of the old writer Claudius Quadrigarius; *concione dimissa Metellus in Capitolium venit cum mortalibus multis; inde domum proficiscitur; tota civitas eum reduxit*.

16. **Procederet]** "Advanced, succeeded;" *procedere*, i. q. *ex voto evenire*. Comp. Liv. i. 57. *ubi id parum processit*. ii. 44. *velut processisset Sp. Licinio*. Of persons, as Terent. *Adelph.* v. 9. 22. *processisti hodie pulchre*. Plaut. *Trucul.* ii. 6. 35. *tu recte provenisti*. Another sense of the word is "to march," "walk in a solemn or measured step." Terent. *Andr.* i. 1. 100. *funus procedit*. Lucan, speaking of the conquering progress of the Roman republic, vii. 422. *Te geminum Titan procedere vidit in axem*. *Incedere* has the sense, Virg. *Aen.* i. 50. *quae Divum incedo regina*.

17. **Mature facto opus est]** "Twere well it were done quickly." *Maturus* and *mora* opposed, Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 300. *Si mora pro culpa est, ego sum maturior illo*.

18. **Alterum alterius auxilio eget]** Horat. *alterius sic Altera poscit opem res. Indigens...eget*. This tautology has given offence: many editions read *veget*, but without authority. *Indigens* may be taken absolutely for *maneu*, *debile*.

CHAPTER II.

1. **Igitur]** This particle is placed first in a sentence by Sallust, except in interrogation, but generally later by Cicero and subsequent writers. Sallust is said to use it seventy five times, *itaque* seventy seven, and *ergo* four times only. Dietsch.

2. **Initio]** Comp. Cic. *de Leg.* iii. omnes antiquae gentes regibus quondam paruerunt.

3. **Reges diversi]** i. e. *in contrarium abeuntes*, "taking opposite courses."

4. **Etiam tum]** "Still;" "in those times men still lived without ambition."

5. **Periculo atque negotiis]** Some explain *periculo* i. q. *experimento, experiendo*. Others explain the phrase by the fig. hendiadys, for *periculosus negotiis*. Rather, *periculo*, "danger;" *negotiis*, "grave and difficult affairs;" therefore, "dangers and troubles."

6. **Quodsi]** *Quod* is not pronominal (i. q. *propter quod*), but merely marks a transition, "but;" *quodsi*, in conjunction, "but if."

7. **Animi virtus]** "The courage of kings and captains."

8. **Artibus]** i. q. *studiis*, "means," "methods;" or "habits of acting," or i. q. *moribus*, "dispositions." The word is commonly used by Sallust in these senses. Comp. *Catil.* 3. *insolens malarum artium*: *Jugur.* 82. *vir egregius in aliis artibus*.

9. **Invasere]** Absolute; as *Catil.* 10. *Jugur.* 41. *Liv.* v. 13. *dulcedo invasit plebeios creandi*.

10. **Quae homines etc.]** scil. *omnia quae homines faciunt arando, navigando, aedificando*, "men's ploughing, sailing, building," *parent*, i. q. *ex virtute pendent*, "all depend upon the exercise of their energies, moral and physical." Comp. *Hor. Sat.* ii. 3. 94. *omnis enim res Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulcris Divitiis parent*.

11. **Transegere]** Or *transiere*, for which there is also good authority, and which seems to consort better with *peregrinantes*.

12. **Contra naturam]** "The reverse of what nature intended."

13. **Juxta aestimo]** "I value both alike," i. e. "as equally despicable." For *juxta* in the sense of equality, comp. Sallust, *Catil.* 37. 51. 61. *Jugur.* 85. 88. Generally of two things connected with the copula; but otherwise *Catil.* 58.

14. **Verum enim vero]** More forcible than the simple *verum*: frequent in Livy and Sallust, more rare in Cicero. Ruhnken, *Dictata in Terent.* *Adelph.* ii. 3. 2.

15. **Is demum]** "He of all men." Comp. *Catil.* 20. *idem velle atque idem nolle ea demum firma amicitia est*.

16. **Alliquo...intentus]** Not "intent upon," which would

require the *dat.*, but “occupied with,” “kept on the stretch by:” the *ablat. modi*, or *instrumenti*. Comp. *scientia confisus*, “satisfied with, encouraged by the consciousness of knowledge:” *pede nixus*, “using the foot as the means or instrument whereby to support oneself.”

CHAPTER III.

1. **Bene facere reip.**] “To act for the advantage of the state.” Comp. *Jugur.* 85. *quippe bene facta mea reipublicae procedunt.*

2. **Haud absurdum**] “No mean thing;” “not unworthy:” Tacitus uses the word to express his contempt for the Jewish rites: *Judaeorum mos absurdus sordidusque*, *Hist.* v. 5. *absurdus*, not derived probably from *surdus*. Festus cites a word *sardare*, *intelligere*, from Naevius. So *insulsus* from *salsus*, *insulto* from *salto*.

3. **Multi**] Placed towards the end of the sentence, *emphasis gratia*; “many such, I say.”

4. **Haudquaquam par gloria**] So Cicero *pro Mur.* 9. *dicendum est quod sentio, rei militaris virtus praestat ceteris omnibus.*

5. **Auctorem**] “The doer of deeds,” i. q. *actorem*. So Vell. ii. 10. *praeclari facinoris auctor*. Virgil, *Aen.* v. 748. *vulneris auctor*. But *auctor rerum* frequently i. q. *scriptor rerum*. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 30. C. Sallustius rerum Rom. *florantissimus auctor*: and, *apud auctores rerum reperio*. Modern editors read *actorem*. The contrast between the *writer* and the *doer* may be traced to Homer. *Iliad* 9. 443.

μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.

6. **Arduum**] So Justin, *in praef.* calls writing history, *opus ardui laboris*.

7. **Facta dictis exaequanda**] So Livy, vi. 20. *facta dictis aequando*: the difficulty consists in writing worthily of noble actions. Pliny, *Ep.* viii. 4. *una sed maxima difficultas quod haec aequare dicendo arduum*.

8. **Ubi de magna virtute, etc.**] The sentiment is directly imitated from Thucyd. ii. 35, (the funeral speech of Pericles): *χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν κ. τ. λ.*

9. **Aequo animo accipit**] “Acquiesces in.”

10. **Supra ea**] i. e. *quae quisque supra ea putat*.

11. **Studio latus sum**] “I applied myself earnestly to public affairs:” *studio* i. q. *amore*, *cupidine*. Comp. Sall. *Fr.*

Hist. iii. 11. ad bellum majore studio quam consilio profectus. So odio, iracundia, avaritia ferri.

12. Insolens malarum artium] "Unaccustomed to evil practices."

13. Eadem qua ceteros, etc.] "The pursuit of public honours subjected me to the same abuse and envy as the rest of my competitors." *Fama* in the sense of *mala fama*, whence *famosus*, "infamous."

CHAPTER IV.

1. Ex multis] "From and after many troubles, etc." Comp. Cic. *pro Arch.* 1. ex gravi morbo recreari, *Brut.* 92. ex consulatu profectus in Galliam. Nepos, *Timol.* 3. ex maximo bello otium conciliavit.

2. Habendam] *Habere aetatem*, "to keep a certain tenor of life." Comp. *Catil.* 51. qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent.

3. Decrevi] Comp. *Jugur.* 4. decrevi procul a republ. agere aetatem.

4. Servilibus officiis] "Unworthy employments," fit only for slaves, inasmuch as they occupy the body only, not the mind. The great estates of the nobles at this time were generally cultivated and even superintended by slaves.

5. Ambitio mala] i. e. *quae malum affert*, or, *malos facit*. So Horace, *Sat.* i. 6. 129. misera ambitio, i. e. quae miseros reddit. *Mala pugna* (*Jugur.* 56), an unsuccessful engagement.

6. Carptim] "Piecemeal;" "to write the history of Rome in monographs." Comp. Plin. *Ep.* vi. 22. ego carptim et κατὰ κεφάλαια. Tac. *Hist.* iv. 46. dimissi carptim ac singuli.

7. Absolvam] scil. *narrationem*, "I will execute a narrative:" or more generally, "I will discuss," i. q. agam, disseram. Comp. Ammian. Marc. xxiii. 6. locorum situm, quantum ratio sinit, absolvam.

8. Prius...quam...faciam] The conjunctive unusual. *Jugur.* 5. priusquam initium expedio. It implies more hesitation: "before I think of beginning." Cic. *de Orat.* 1. 39. tragoedi quotidie, antequam pronuncient, vocem sensim excitant.

CHAPTER V.

1. Catilina] This cognomen is connected with the words *catillus*, "a dish;" *catillo*, "one who licks dishes;" and may be a cant term for a pilferer.

2. Nobili genere] The *gens Sergia*, a patrician house

which claimed Trojan descent. Accordingly Virgil introduces a Sergestus in company with Aeneas, *Aen.* v. 121. Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen. The name occurs in the *Fasti* from the year A.C. 303. There exists a coin of M. Sergius, with the cognomen Silus. One of this gens was distinguished for his valour in the war with Hannibal. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 29. M. Sergio, ut quidem arbitror, nemo quenquam hominum jure praetulerit, licet pronepos Catilinae gratiam nomini deroget. Secundo stipendio dexteram manum perdidit, stipendiisque duobus ter et vicies vulneratus est... sinistra manu sola quater pugnavit, ... dextram sibi ferream fecit, eaque alligata praeliatus, etc. Pliny mentions another Sergius, with the cognomen Orata, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 79. ostrearum vivaria primus omnium invenit Sergius Orata in Baiano, aetate L. Crassi oratoris, ante Marsicum bellum; nec gulae causa sed avaritiae, magna vectigalia tali ingenio suo percipiens... is primus omnium saporem ostreis Lucrinis adjudicavit. It seems not unlikely that the nickname Catilina may have been given him on this account.

3. **Malo pravoque]** *Malus*, bad in essence, *pravus*, bad in form. Hence *pravus*, i. q. *curvus*, *deformis*, *perversus*: opposed to *rectus*. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 87. Sive ego prave seu recte hoc volui. Hence *malus*, bad in morals, *pravus*, perverse in judgment. Doederlein, *Synon.* i. 60.

4. **Ibi]** scil. *iis rebus*. Comp. *Catil.* 20. divitiae apud illos sunt, ubi (sc. apud quos) illi volunt.

5. **Corpus patiens]** Comp. Cicero, *in Catil.* i. 10. praeclaram tuam patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium: and ii. 5. iii. 7. Comp. further the character of Catiline given by Cicero, *pro Caelio*, 6. illa vero in homine mirabilia fuerunt... versare suam naturam, et regere ad tempus, atque huc et illuc torquere et flectere: cum tristibus severe, cum remissis jucunde, cum senibus graviter, cum juventute comiter, cum facinorosis audaciter, cum libidinosis luxuriose vivere. Haec ille tam varia multiplicique natura cum omnibus ex terris homines improbos audacesque collegerat, tum etiam multos fortes viros et bonos specie quadam virtutis assimilata tenebat.

6. **Cujus rei libet]** i. q. *cujuslibet rei*. So *Catil.* 52. sed *cujus* haec cunque modi videntur.

7. **Vastus animus]** "Prodigious or monstrous spirit." *Vastus*: 1 vacant; 2 desert; 3 wild; 4 shocking, monstrous; 5 vast.

8. **Post dominationem]** "No man since the usurpation of Sulla had been so ambitious of power." Comp. *Jugur.* 5. Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes

maxime adtriverat, "more than any invader since the Roman power had become great."

9. **Sullae]** Not *Syllae*, as appears from inscriptions, and from the derivation of the word from *sura*. The one form represents the Latin *u*, the other the Greek *v*, which might be adopted by a scribe who had a Greek text before him. Sulla composed his own memoirs in Greek. The pronunciation would probably be alike in either case.

10. **Dum sibi regnum pararet]** "While he was bringing his usurpation to effect." Comp. *Jugur.* 31. regni paratio.

11. **Quidquam pensi habebat]** Comp. *Catil.* 12. 23. 31. *Jugur.* 41. nihil pensi neque sancti habere. Liv. xlii. 23. *pensum*, i. q. *perpensum*, *consideratum*.

12. **Diversa]** "Contrary one to the other."

13. **Supra repetere]** "To trace from a higher source:" the object is *insti-tuta*, or rather *res Romanas* generally, understood in *inst. maj. disserere*; "to discuss," with or without an accus. of the object. Comp. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 40. ea disserere malui. Tac. *Ann.* i. 4. bona libertatis disserere. This passage involves both these constructions: scil. *disserere insti-tuta*, and *disserere quomodo*, etc.

CHAPTER VI.

1. **Sicuti ego accepi]** Implying that upon this point, namely, the foundation of Rome itself, there were different opinions. Tacitus commences his *Annals* with the words, Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere; as a matter upon which there is no question.

2. **Aborigines]** Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the last century B.C., is the first writer who mentions this tradition. Misled perhaps by his imperfect acquaintance with Latin he calls this people 'Αβερπλεγες ὥστε δηλοῦσθαι πλανήτας, from whence Festus some centuries later, though spelling the name correctly, repeats the absurd interpretation: Aborigines appellati sunt quod errantes convenerint in agrum qui nunc est populi Rom. Suidas again misspells it 'Αβωπλεγες. A work of Varro on the "Antiquities of Man" bore the title *Aborigines*.

3. **Sine legibus, sine imperio]** "Neither with a free constitution, nor under authorized rule."

4. **Una moenia]** *Unus* in plur. only joined with plural nouns; as *nuptiae*, *litterae*, etc. *Jugur.* 60. unae atque alterae scalae.

5. **Alius alio more viventes]** Comp. *Catil.* 52. alius alium expectantes. *Jugur.* 53. alius alium appellat.

6. Res] i. q. *civitas*. So *res Romana*, *res Latina*, etc.

7. Civibus, moribus, agris] "Population, institutions, and territory."

8. Sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur] i. e. *habent se, sunt*. Comp. the Greek idiom ὡς ἔχει τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν θνητῶν, "as is the case generally with human affairs." *Mortalium* may be gen. of *mortalia*, or of *mortales*, i. e. *homines*.

9. Metu percussis] The common notion that *percussus* refers to the body, *percussus*, to the mind, is erroneous. Either word is used indifferently of body or mind; but *percussus* of the mind when the affection is slight, *percussus* when it is grave. Bentley on Hor. *Ep.* vii. 15. Ruhnken on Terent. *Andr.* i. 1. 98. This distinction however is not always preserved.

10. Domi militiaeque intenti] "Always actively engaged, whether in peace or in war."

11. Obviam ire] "To oppose, resist." *Jugur.* 5. Liv. ix. 14.

12. Patriam parentesque] "Their country and their parents." This is the sense of *parentes* in this place, and in *Catil.* 52. *Jugur.* 87. Tac. *Ann.* i. 59. But *parentes* from *parēre*, "subjects," is also combined with *patriam*, and is only to be distinguished by the context. So *Jugur.* 3. vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes importunum est. Comp. *Jugur.* 102. parentes abunde habemus, amicorum nunquam satis fuit. Vell. ii. 108. Maroboduus ex voluntate parentum inter suos occupavit principatum.

13. Portabant] This word used (for *ferebant*) of *weighty*, and fig. of *important* things. Ruhnken *ad Terent. Andr.* ii. 2. 1. See note 1 on c. 30.

14. Imperium legitimum] *Imperium* is absolute, irresponsible authority, within certain limits of time, place and circumstances, as that of a general over his soldiers in the field, of the consul in certain particulars, as of levying soldiers, taking the auspices, etc. *Legitimum*, "restricted by law." Comp. note 3.

15. Delecti] "Selected;" *legere* and *eligere*, "to take," generally, out of a number: *deligere*, "to select for peculiar fitness." Thus in Caes. *B. G.* vii. 76. huic rei idoneos homines deligebat.

16. Regium imperium quod initio conservandae libertatis fuerat] "Regal authority which had originally conduced to the maintenance of liberty." Comp. Liv. iii. 39. quod unum exaequandae sit libertatis. xxxviii. 50. nihil tam aequandae libertatis esse. xxvii. 9. ea prodendi imperii Rom. tradendae

Hannibali, victoriae esse. Varro, *de Re Rust.* i. 19. ea sola quae agri tuendi erunt. In all these cases the subject of the sentence conduces to, or has for its object, that which is put in the genit. with the future participle; and the genitive attributes to it a certain quality, function or tendency. But where the genitive is connected with another verb than the verb substantive *causa* or *consilio* must be supplied, like the Greek *ἕνεκα* or *χάριν*. Thus Sallust, *Fr. Hist.* i. 19. exercitum opprimendae libertatis habet. Liv. viii. 6. placuit averruncandae Deum irae victimas caedi. That these are not genitives of quality (e. g. victims fit for averting divine wrath) appears from such passages as Tac. *Ann.* ii. 59. Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis, iii. 27. multa populus paravit tuendae libertatis et firmandae concordiae.

17. **Dominationem]** “Ab aliis scriptoribus et a Sall. semper de potentia et imperio non legitimo dicitur.” Dietsch.

18. **Convertit]** “Turned itself,” *intrans.* or more properly *reflexive*.

19. **Insolescere]** i. q. *superbire*.

CHAPTER VII.

1. **Formidolosa]** “Terrible,” as in Cic. *pro Cluen.* 3, *pro leg. Man.* 21, and always in Sallust; but sometimes it has a passive signification, terrified, fearful, timid; as Tac. *Ann.* i. 62. Terent. *Eun.* iv. 6. 19.

2. **Adepta libertate]** The perf. partic. of the deponent used passively. *Jugur.* 101. dum prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit. So, *amplexus, confessus, expertus, moderatus, pactus, partitus, ultus*, and others.

All these deponents had in past ages an active form; the passive use of *adipiscor* is preserved in the indicative and infinitive, in Plaut. *Trinum.* ii. 2. 28. non aetate verum ingenio adipiscitur sapientia. Q. Fabius Maximus, quoted by Priscian, viii. 4. 16. amitti quam apisci.

3. **Lubidinem habebant]** “Placed their satisfaction.”

4. **Labos]** This form used by Sallust, according to the testimony of Servius on *Aen.* i. 253. Sallustius paene ubique *labos* posuit, quem nulla necessitas (sc. metri) coegit.

5. **Domuerat]** *Domare*, poetice, “to level the rough and soften the hard.” Virg. *Aen.* ix. 608. rastris terram domat. Silius, iii. 499. magna vi saxa domantem.

6. **Se]** Redundant, after the verb desiring, *properabat*. Comp. note 2 on ch. 1.

7. **Eas]** For *id*, agreeing by attraction with *divitias*; therefore the emendation *ea* (neut. plur.) is unnecessary. Comp. Plaut. *Trinum.* iii. 2. 71. is est honos meminisse officium suum. Liv. ii. 38. si haec profectio et non fuga est. Cic. *Somm. Scip.* hic fons, hoc principium est movendi; and the Virgilian, Hic labor, hoc opus est.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. **Ex lubricitate magis quam ex vero]** The adverb *magis* is rejected by many MSS. Comp. *Catil.* 48. tanta vis hominis lenienda quam exagitanda videbatur. 9. beneficiis quam metu; and 52. Tac. *Ann.* i. 58. pacem quam bellum probatam. iii. 17. iv. 61.

2. **Celebrat]** "Renders famous or celebrated." Comp. *Jugur.* 85. haec atque talia majores vestri faciendo seque remque publicam celebravere.

3. **Aestimo]** *Aestimo* has generally the primary sense of "counting," "reckoning," while *existimo* is confined to the secondary sense of "thinking," "supposing;" but where *aestimo* has the secondary or reflective sense, as in this passage, it is more direct and decided than *existimo*. Here, "I calculate," that is, on precise authentic data: *existimo* would be "I suppose, infer, imagine."

4. **Aliquanto]** i. e. *aliqua ex parte*, "a good deal;" *aliquantum* is not *paullum*, but *satis multum*.

5. **Scriptorum magna ingenia]** "Writers of great genius." Comp. *Catul.* lxiv. 4. Argivae robora pubis i. q. pubes robusta.

6. **Eorum qui ea fecere]** This inelegant repetition occurs again, *Jugur.* 31. neque eos qui ea fecere pudet.

7. **Ea copia]** "Such means, opportunities, or advantages." The Romans had not the advantage of such excellent writers, because their ablest men were most engaged in affairs. For *copia* in this primary sense, comp. *Catil.* 17. quibus molliter vivere copia erat. Plaut. *Capt.* ii. 1. 21. quum quod volumus nos copia est. *Mil.* iv. 6. 11. copia vix fuit eum adeundi. Terent. *Heaut.* ii. 3. 41. ea res dedit tum existimandi copiam. For the sentiment compare Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 101 :

Nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes
Graecia, facundum sed male forte genus,
Qui bene pugnabat Romanam noverat artem,
Mittere qui poterat pila disertus erat.

CHAPTER IX.

1. **Jus bonumque]** "Right and good," "lawful and expedient;" *jus* i. q. *rectum, aequum*; *bonum* i. q. *utile reipublicae*.

For the sentiment comp. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 26. *init. Germ.* 19. plus ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

2. **In suppliciis deorum]** "In the solemn services of the gods," *supplicium* i. q. *supplicatio*, a bending of the knee in prayer, adoration, or thanksgiving. Comp. Liv. xxvii. 50. *matronae suppliciis votisque fatigare Deos.* Tac. *Ann.* iii. *sed tunc supplicia Dis ludique magni decernuntur.* Festus says further, *supplicia veteres quaedam sacrificia a supplicando vocabant.* As applied to "punishment," (usually "capital punishment,") it means, kneeling to be beheaded, or scourged.

3. **In amicis fideles]** "Faithful in regard to their friends," not *in amicos*, the reading of some MSS. and many editions. Comp. *Catil.* 11. *in civibus facinora fecere.* 51. *quid in illis jure fieri posset.* Cic. *de Off.* i. 14. *qui aliis nocent ut in aliis liberales sint.* The same construction is frequent in verse, where the metre shews this case to be ablat. and not accus. Ovid, *Met.* vii. 22. *quid in hospite regia virgo Ureris?* *Trist.* v. 2. 26. *lenis in hoste fuit.* Virg. *Aen.* ii. 541. *Talis in hoste fuit Priamo.* The accus. would signify, "towards," the ablat. "in the matter of," "in regard to." The construction with the ablat. is not confined, as some have maintained, to expressing *love* or *hate*.

4. **Artibus]** "Dispositions." Comp. *Jugur.* 90. *luxuria et ignavia pessimae artes.* Or "principles," *Catil.* 10. *fidem, probitatem, ceteras artes bonas.* See above, c. 2.

5. **Evenerat]** For the turn of construction comp. Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 10. *nimiae voluptates cum vacaret, quotiens expedierat magnae virtutes.*

6. **Qui contra imp.]** Comp. *Catil.* 52. the case of Manlius's son; and of Postumius Tubertus, Val. Max. ii. 7. 6.

7. **Pulsi loco]** i. e. *loco suo.* Comp. *Jugur.* 38. 52.

8. **Beneficiis quam metu]** In this place most MSS. omit *magis.* See note 1 on c. 8.

9. **Agitabant]** "Exercised," "practised:" Plin. *Ep.* viii. 2. *agitare justitiam.*

10. **Ignoscere quam persequi]** *Ignoscere* might stand absolutely, as Sall. *Fr. Hist.* i. 19. *ignoscendo populi Romani magnitudinem auxisse:* but *persequi* requires an object. Supply *eam* from *injuriam*; and comp. *Jugur.* 14. *tuasne injurias persequar?* Cic. *pro Mur.* 21. *acceptam injuriam persequi non placet.*

CHAPTER X.

1. *Nationes ferae et populi*] Comp. Cic. *de Off.* ii. 8. regum, populorum, nationum portus erat. *Gens* and *natio*, *gens* and *populus*, are frequently combined without precise distinctions of signification. But properly *gens* and *natio* refer to community of origin, *populus* to community of institutions. Where *gens* and *natio* are distinguished *gens* has the wider signification, as Tac. *Germ.* 2. ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisse.

2. *Patebant*] "Were accessible." Cities and territories are said *paterere* to a people that has subdued and acquired the *right* to enter them; honours and offices to the citizen who has a *right* to sue for them, Liv. iv. 25. ne cui patricio plebeii magistratus paterent; private possessions to the owner, or the friend who has a *right* to use them as his own, Cic. *ad Div.* vi. 10. ut intelligant omnia Ciceronis patere Trebiano.

3. *Optandae*] "Desirable." For this adjectival sense of the fut. part. pass., comp. *Jugur.* 64. virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis.

4. *Subvertit*] "Has overthrown." The historic perfect: or the present, implying a general remark. In that case *edocuit* is aoristic, i. q. *edocere solet*; *subegit*, i. q. *subigere solet*.

5. *Invasit*] "Rushed in," in an absolute sense. Comp. *Catil.* 2. lubido atque superbia invasere. So *incessit*. *Catil.* 7. 13. *Jugur.* 13. 41.

CHAPTER XI.

1. *Propius virtutem*] "Nearer to virtue." Comp. *Jugur.* 18. propius mare Africum. 19. proxime Hispaniam. Liv. ii. 48. proxime formam latrocinii.

2. *Vera via*] "Genuine," "honest;" opposed to *dolis atque fallaciis*. Comp. Cic. *Philipp.* i. 14. vereor ne ignorans verum iter gloriae. *Vera via* is also i. q. *recta*, opposed to *prava*, "crooked." Sall. *de Rep. Ordin.* animus ferox prava via ingressus.

3. *Avaritia pecuniae studium habet*] "Avarice implies a devoted pursuit of money." For the force of *habet*, beyond the simple *est*, comp. Cic. *in Catil.* iv. 4. habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, "seems to smack of injustice;" *de Off.* iii. 2. alterum potest habere dubitationem, "may admit of doubt."

4. *Neque copia neque inopia*] "Avarice is assuaged

neither by wealth nor want;" i. e. "the desire of money which is inflamed by want is not less inflamed even by acquisition."

5. **Armis recepta republ.]** "When he had recovered possession of the government by force of arms." Comp. Cic. *pro Sex. Rosc.* 45, speaking of Sulla, imperii majestatem quam armis receperat. Sulla pretended to wrest the government from an usurping faction. His first professions were studiously mild. Comp. Vell. ii. 25. putetis Sullam venisse in Italiam non belli vindicem sed pacis auctorem; tanta cum quiete exercitum per Calabriam Apuliamque cum singulari cura frugum, agrorum, hominum, urbium perduxit. Cic. *de Off.* ii. 8. in illo secuta est honestam causam non honesta victoria.

6. **Neque modum neque modestiam]** A cant phrase; see the same reversed c. 38.

7. **In civibus]** "In regard to the citizens." Comp. note on ch. 9. *in amicis*.

8. **Habuerat]** "Had treated." Habere aliquem bene, male liberaliter, etc. i. q. *tractare*. Comp. *Jugur.* 103. Liv. xxix. 8; xxxvii. 34; xxxix. 1.

9. **Amare, potare]** A jingling expression, equivalent to the English, "to indulge in wine and women." Comp. *Jugur.* 85. quin ergo ament, potent. *Potare* has a frequentative sense, "to drink freely."

10. **Privatim ac publice]** "Whether they were private or public property."

11. **Delubra]** "Shrines," in which votive offerings were dedicated. To rob a *temple* might imply only stripping it of its furniture or materials; but to rob a shrine is to carry off what has been peculiarly consecrated to the deity. Varro's derivation of the word may be true as far as it goes: sicut locum in quo figeret candelam candelabrum appellarunt, ita in quo deum ponerent nominarunt delubrum.

12. **Nihil reliqui victis fecere]** "Left nothing remaining to the conquered." The construction is similar in the phrases, *lucri, compendi, aequi, boni facere*.

13. **Animos fatigant]** "Shake their principles."

14. **Ne]** In the sense of *nedum*, which indeed is given in many MSS., and is cited here by Priscian, "much less."

15. **Ne illi...temperarent]** "Much less could they, the Roman soldiers, with their corrupt habits, be expected to

refrain from abusing their victory." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* iii. 31. qui semper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent; i. e. victoria moderate usi fuissent.

CHAPTER XII.

1. **Hebescere**] "The brilliancy of virtue grew dim." Comp. Sall. *de Rep. Ordin.* ii. 6. postquam divitiæ claræ haberi.

2. **Pro malevolentia duci**] "Was reputed to be envy or spite towards the rich and successful."

3. **Ex divitiis**] The prep. indicates the *cause* or *origin*. *Catil.* 14. uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat. *Jugur.* 32. timido et ex conscientia diffidenti.

4. **Pudorem, pudicitiam**] "Modest principles and personal chastity."

5. **Pensi...moderati**] "Weighed and measured," "considered and regulated."

6. **Verum illi**] "But the ancients indeed;" with emphasis: *verum* is not opposed to the preceding words, but to the inference understood. Supply, "You will then see how great is the difference," i. e. between the temples of ancient days and modern mansions.

7. **Injuriae licentiam**] "Licence to oppress their own neighbours." The Romans excused their own aggressions on the plea of defending weaker nations against the tyranny of their neighbours. Comp. Rutilius, i. 64. profuit injustis te dominante capi.

8. **Sociis; hostibus**] The same opposition expressed in different words by Cicero, *in Verr.* iv. honestius est reipublicæ... imperatorem ea in bello reliquisse, quam prætorem in pace abstulisse.

9. **Proinde quasi**] "Exactly as if." Ruhnken on Ter. *Heaut.* i. 1. 13.

10. **id demum esset**] the demonstrative introduced for emphasis. Comp. 20. idem velle atque nolle ea demum firma amicitia est. 58. in fuga salutem sperare ea vero dementia est.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. **Subversos montes, maria constructa**] Mountains overthrown (excavated) to make seas (lakes or fish-ponds). Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 56. structo cis Tiberim stagno. This refers particularly to Lucullus, into whose fish-ponds at Bauli sea-

water was admitted by a dyke cut through a hill. Pompey called him the Xerxes togatus. Vel. ii. 33. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 54. Lucullus exciso monte euripum et maria admisit. Varro, *de Re Rust.* iii. 17. Lucullus postquam perfodisset montem ac maritima flumina immisisset in piscinas. But the word *constructa* may refer to moles or villas projected into the sea, as in Horace *Od.* iii. 1. 33. *jactis in altum molibus*, and iii. 24. 3. *caementis licet occupes Tyrrenum omne tuis*. Again *Catil.* 20. *in exstruendo mari et montibus coequandis*.

2. *Quas...abuti*] scil. *iis*. Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* ii. 3. *quae... facultas data erit utemur*, scil. *ea*. *Jugur.* 54. *universos... atque agit gratias*, scil. *iis*.

3. *Cultus*] "Refinement," in either a good or a bad sense; as Horace, *Sat.* ii. 2. 65. *Mundus erit qui non offendat sordidus atque In neutram partem cultus miser*. Liv. xxix. 21. *de cultu ac desidia imperatoris*.

4. *Terra marique omnia exquirere*] Imitated by Lucan, iv. 375. *quaesitorum terra pelagoque ciborum Ambitiosa fames*. Petron. *Arb. Spec. Bell. Civ.* 40. *Ingeniosa gula est, et seqq.* See Aul. Gellius, vii. 16, about the foreign luxuries of the Roman table; and Seneca, *Ep.* 89. Compare also for the general scope of the passage, Lucan, i. 163 :

Non auro tectisve modus, mensasque priores
Aspernata fames; cultus gestare decoros
Vix nurbus rapuere mares; foecunda virorum
Paupertas fugitur, totoque accersitur orbe
Quo gens quaeque perit, etc.

5. *Luxu antecapere*] "To anticipate with voluptuous indulgence."

6. *Haud facile carebat*] "Could not easily control or forego the gratification of its appetites;" therefore, "could not be free from them." *Carere* i. q. *vacare, liber esse ab aliqua re*.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. *Flagitiorum atque facinorum*] The abstract "crimes" for the concrete "criminals;" as *scelus, pestis*, etc. are frequently used. The reading, *flagitiosorum, facinorosorum*, is a mistaken attempt to correct this legitimate figure of speech. With regard to the distinction between the words, *flagitium* conveys the idea of "disgraceful," *facinus* of what is "amazing," or "monstrous."

2. *Stipatorum*] “Attendants,” “body-guards.” *Stipator*, from *stipa*, one who packs goods, fills up interstices, &c.

3. *Nam quicumque impudicus, etc.*] Comp. Cicero, in *Catil.* ii. 4. *quis tota Italia veneticus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum sub-jector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur?*

4. *Aes grande conflaverat*] “Had contracted great debt.” Conflare (1) to blow up or kindle fire, (2) to forge with fire, (3) to create, make or raise.

5. *Omnes undique*] A poetical repetition, as Virg. *Aen.* ii. 498. *quos omnes undique Graiae Circum errant acies.*

6. *Catilinae*] Gen. case governed by *proximi*, “the nearest and most intimate friends of Catilina.” Comp. *Jugur.* 80. *Bocchi proximos.*

7. *Incidere*] “To fall into,” used generally, as the English, in a bad sense. So *incidere in morbum, in insidias, &c.* We say, “to fall into bad habits,” not “into good habits.”

8. *Animi...fluxi*] “Pliant” or “ductile.” Comp. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 38. *fluxam senio mentem.* Suet. *Tib.* 52. *Drusus animi fluxioris.*

CHAPTER XV.

1. *Jam primum*] “To begin then:” not with reference to the youth of Catiline, but to the narrative in hand. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 6. *congruens crediderim recensere ceteras quoque reipubl. partes quibus modis ad eam diem habitae sint...jam primum &c.*

2. *Cum virgine nobili*] The person is not indicated, but Cicero blurts out the monstrous charge, *ex eodem stupro tibi et uxorem et filiam invenisti*, which Plutarch *Vit. Cic.* c. 10, adopts. Asconius says that he married a woman who was actually his daughter by an illicit connexion. Such loose charges would deserve no attention except for the ready acceptance they met with.

3. *Cum sacerdote Vestae*] This is said to have been Fabia, sister of Cicero’s wife Terentia. Asconius, on Cicero’s speech *in toga candida*. She was acquitted of the charge. Cicero makes no direct mention of it, but may allude to it in the passage cited by his commentator: *quum ita vixisti ut non*

esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus, etiam si nulla culpa subesset, crimen afferret: on which Asconius remarks; ita et suis pepercit et nihilo levius inimico summi opprobrii turpitudinem objecit.

4. **Alia]** Without the copula, as *Catil.* 21, 48, 57.

5. **Orestillae]** Probably of the family of L. Aurelius Orestes, L. f. L. n. who was consul A. U. 597. An Aufidius Orestes was consul A. U. 683.

6. **Necato filio]** Comp. Cic. in *Catil.* i. 6. quum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuum fecisses. The story is repeated by Valerius Maximus, ix. 1. 9. Cicero tells a similar story of one Oppianicus, in the speech for Cluentius, c. 9.

7. **Infestus]** "~~Hateful,~~ *passive*; more commonly *active*, "hostile." *Infestisque obvia signis signa*, Lucan i. 6.

8. **Quietibus]** So the plural in Cicero, *de Off.* i. 29. somno et quietibus caeteris; though it is there used not for sleep, but for other modes of refreshing the body.

9. **Vastabat]** "Spoiled, ravaged," i. q. *diripiebat*. This is the reading of a majority of MSS.: the editions very commonly adopt the easier reading *vexabat*. Comp. *Jugur.* 41. avaritia polluere et vastare omnia.

10. **Fœdi oculi]** "Discoloured," "bloodshot."

11. **Prorsus]** "In short." Joined with a verb at the end of a sentence, i. q. *ut paucis complectar*. Comp. *Catil.* 25. prorsus multae facetiae leposque inerat.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. **Signatores]** Persons who attested wills with their seals. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 23. Also witnesses to marriage rites: Juvenal x. 336. veniet cum signatoribus auspex. Non nisi legitime vult nubere.

2. **Commodare]** "From among these persons he was wont to offer the services of false witnesses." *Commodare*, the historic infin.

3. **Habere...majora alia]** Both the infin. and the subst. governed by *imperabat*. Comp. Hor. *Od.* i. 2. 50. Hic magnos potius triumphos, Hic ames dici pater atque princeps; i. 1. 19. Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici, Nec partem solido demere de die spernit. For the change from the infin. to the imperf. comp. *Catil.* 54. nihil denegare...sibi magnum imperium exoptabat; and c. 56. occasionem...non dare; sperabat quoque.

4. **Gratis]** "Wantonly," i. e. with no immediate motive or temptation: hence, "in vain," "to no purpose:" Liv. i. 47. *jam enim a scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus...ac gratuita praeterita parricidia essent.* For the sentiment compare Cic. *de Off.* ii. 24. of Caesar, *ut hoc ipsum eum delectaret, peccare, etiam si causa non esset.*

5. **Quod aes alienum per omnes terras ingens erat]** "Because in every country there were men deeply in debt;" and therefore interested in the success of a social revolution. This may refer to the state of the empire generally and distress throughout the provinces, but it seems to point more particularly to Italy and to Sulla's veterans. See below.

6. **Sullani milites]** The veterans of Sulla's legions, many thousands of whom he had settled in colonies throughout Italy. These fortunate soldiers soon squandered the produce of their estates, contracted debts, and having no habits of peaceful industry, only looked to new commotions to retrieve themselves. Comp. *Catil.* 37. and Cic. *in Catil.* ii. 9. *in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut si salvi esse velint Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus.*

7. **In Italia]** The Republic never maintained a standing army in Italy: its legions were all occupied in the provinces. The police of Rome and the large towns was kept by the citizens themselves, and the consuls and chief magistrates had only a few lictors and archers in attendance upon them.

8. **In extr. terris]** Pompey was engaged, under the provisions of the Manilian bill, which gave him proconsular power over all the provinces of the east, in subduing Mithridates, king of Pontus, and in ordering the affairs of the eastern frontier. Comp. Virg. *Geor.* ii. 171. *Qui nunc extremis Asiae jam victor in oris Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum;* and the same expression in Lucan iv. 1. referring to Spain.

9. **Consulatum petenti]** Catiline first stood for the consulship A. U. 688. Being thwarted in this attempt he still hoped to succeed at a subsequent opportunity: his suit for the consulship is therefore spoken of as still proceeding.

10. **Nihil]** "In no respect at all:" more emphatic than the simple *non*.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. **Kal. Junias]** The first of June: A. U. 690, B. C. 64.

2. **L. Caesare]** i. e. L. Julius Caesar, a connexion, but distant, of C. Caesar the dictator, and uncle by his sister Julia of M. Antonius the triumvir.

3. **C. Figulo]** i. e. C. Marcius Figulus: adopted into the Marcian gens, his original name being C. Minucius Thermus.

4. **Singulos appellare]** "He addressed various persons separately:" *appellare*, "to appeal with urgency." Comp. *Jugur.* 14. *exsul patria, domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accedam, aut quos appellem?*

5. **Ubi satis explorata sunt quae voluit]** "When he had fully discovered all he wanted," i. e. the temper and disposition of the persons he sounded. To express, "when others had discovered what he wanted," would require *quae vellet*.

6. **In unum]** "Together," "so as to meet one another." *Locum, spatium, or other words may be supplied.*

7. **Necessitudo]** Not "connexion" in this place, but "necessity," "straits." After *necessitudo* supply *erat*, which is comprehended in *inerat*.

8. **P. Lentulus Sura]** Of the Cornelian gens: consul A. U. 683. He had been expelled from the senate for licentious conduct. He was induced by pretended Sibylline oracles to believe that three Cornelii should be sovereigns of Rome, two of whom, Cinna and Sulla, had fulfilled their destiny, and that he was himself fated to be the third. See Plutarch, *Vit. Cicer.* 17. The cognomen *Sura*, means "an ankle." *Sulla* is a diminutive of the same meaning.

9. **P. Autronius]** Surnamed *Paetus*; see the following chapter.

10. **L. Cassius Longinus]** This man was a competitor with Cicero in suing for the consulship: he was remarkable for his corpulence. See *Cic. in Catil.* iii. 7. *nec mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipem, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam.* He undertook the charge of setting the city on fire.

11. **C. Cethegus]** One of the Cornelian gens. He was, next to Catiline, the prime mover of the conspiracy, and was notorious for his ferocity and boldness. He is called by Lucan, "Cethegus of the bared arm." ii. 544. *exsertique manus vesana Cethegi.* vi. 794. *Mariique truces, nudique Cethegi.*

12. **P. and Serv.]** Cornelius Sulla were nephews of the dictator, sons of his brother Servius. Publius was absolved from the charge of conspiracy with Catiline, being defended by Cicero.

13. **L. Vargunteius]** This man undertook to assassinate Cicero in his house. He had been Cicero's colleague in the

quaestorship: accused of bribery and defended by Hortensius, but condemned. See Cic. *pro Sulla*, 2, 5.

14. **Q. Annius**] This person is unknown; but Cicero mentions an uncle of Catiline's named L. Annius, who had been condemned judicially in the year 690.

15. **M. Porcius Laeca**] At whose house the conspirators met, *Catil.* 27. Comp. Cic. *pro Sull.* 2. and *in Catil.* i. 4.

16. **L. Bestia**] Of the gens Calpurnia. He was tribune of the people in the year of the conspiracy. Escaping condemnation, he became afterwards aedile, A.U. 696.

17. **Q. Curius**] Of this man see further, *Catil.* 23, 28. The senate voted him a reward as the discoverer of the conspiracy; but Cicero was induced to declare that it had been first disclosed to him by C. Caesar, and the reward was taken from Curius. See Suet. *Jul.* 17.

18. **Domi nobiles**] "Noble," i. e. "distinguished by their family honours and magistracies in their native cities." At Rome a man became *nobilis* by serving a curule magistracy; i. e. becoming consul, praetor, aedile, or censor.

19. **M. Licinium Crassum**] This Crassus belonged to a branch of the family surnamed Dives. He was himself proverbially the richest of the Romans. He was ambitious of becoming the chief of the commonwealth, and trimmed between the Marians and the senate. Finding himself outstripped in popularity and fame by Pompey, he leagued with him and Caesar, and formed an alliance which received the name of a triumvirate; implying an extraordinary public commission. He took the government of Syria A. U. 700, intending to make war upon the Parthians, and acquire great military resources for the furtherance of his schemes; but was slain after the fatal battle of Carrhae, A.U. 701. There is no proof of his supposed connexion with the conspiracy of Catiline.

20. **Apud illos**] By the figure *anacoluthon* or *non-sequence*, the grammatical construction of a sentence is sometimes broken, and the sense carried on as it were from a new starting-point. Here *illos* agrees with *conjuratos* understood in *conjuratio*. A similar irregularity occurs at the beginning of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. **De qua**] scil. conjuratione. The reading *de quo* in many editions has less authority, and seems to have arisen from an attempt to elude the difficulty.

2. **L. Tullo, M' Lepido coss.**] A. U. 688, B. C. 66. L. Volcatius Tullus and M' Aemilius Lepidus consuls. "Manius;" sic scripsi Fastos cum Orello secutus. Dietsch in loc.

3. **Legibus ambitus**] "By the laws relating to canvassing for office." Of these the principal was the *lex Calpurnia* (more correctly, *Acilia Calpurnia*, from the consuls of the year 687, by whom it was passed), confirmed and extended by the *lex Tullia* of Cicero (691), against bribery. See Cic. *pro Murena*, 23, 32.

4. **Interrogati**] "Accused," i. q. *postulati*.

5. **Pecun. repetundarum**] Or simply, *repetundarum*, "convicted of extortion in provincial administration." Catiline had served the praetorship in Africa.

6. **Profiteri**] scil. *se candidatum*. He could not declare himself a candidate to the Rogator within the proper time, because he had not been absolved from the charge which incapacitated him. Comp. Vell. Patere. ii. 92. *quaesturam petentes quos indignos putavit profiteri prohibuit*.

7. **Cn. Piso**] A young noble of the Calpurnian gens. He is to be distinguished from his contemporaries, 1. C. Piso, consul A. U. 687, proconsul of the Province in Gaul, where he reduced the Allobroges, a staunch supporter of the senate; 2. C. Piso Frugi, first husband to Cicero's daughter Tullia; 3. L. Piso Caesorinus, consul A. U. 696, when Cicero was driven into banishment, the subject of his furious invective *in Pisonem*: (Caesar married his daughter Calpurnia); 4. M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus, a Calpurnius adopted by M. Pupius; consul A. U. 693.

8. **In Capitolio Kal. Jan.**] On the first of January, when the new consuls assumed the fasces, they convened the senate in the Capitol, and were saluted by the nobles and magistrates. The conspirators intended to take advantage of this solemnity to effect their assassination. L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus were consuls A. U. 690.

9. **Fascibus correptis**] "Seizing the fasces," i. e. the consular power, which they represented.

10. **Duas Hispanias**] At this time Spain was divided into two provinces, the Hither and the Further, afterwards *Tarracensis* and *Baetica*. The former extended from the Pyrenees to the *Sinus Ureitanus* (modern Almeria) on the south, to *Gallaecia* and the mouth of the Douro on the west; the latter was supposed to comprehend the rest of the peninsula, but beyond the *Guadiana* the country was only partially subdued.

till the praetorship of Caesar, A. U. 694. Between the Guadiana and the Douro a third province was afterwards formed called Lusitania.

11. **Rursus transtulerant]** This repetition is not unfrequent. Comp. Florus, i. 3. in suum corpus rediisse rursus. Terence, *Adelph.* iv. 1. 9. quam huc reverti posset iterum.

12. **Maturasset...dare]** "Had given too soon," i. q. maturius dedisset. *Pro curia*, in front of the senate-house.

13. **Ea res]** i. e. his having given the signal too soon.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. **Quaestor pro praetore]** "A quaestor with praetor's rank." Having served the inferior office of quaestor, commissioner of the treasury, at Rome, Piso was sent to govern the Hither Spain, with the superior rank of propraetor, ordinarily given only to such as had served the praetorship at home. But, as Sallust insinuates, the senate stretched a point in order to get quit of a dangerous enemy. Comp. Suet. *Jul.* 9. Pisoni ob suspicionem urbanae conjurationis provinciam Hispaniam *ultra ordinem* datam esse. The phrases *pro praetore*, *pro consule*, are equivalent to the substantives *propraetor*, *proconsul*. Some of the provinces were praetorian, others consular; the latter were for the most part frontier provinces, or such as required large armies for their defence; e. g. the two Gauls, Syria, Cilicia, and Macedonia. On the other hand, Asia, Achaia, Bithynia, and the three provinces of Spain, were praetorian.

2. **Adnitente]** "Lending all his influence thereto."

3. **Infestum inimicum]** "A bitter personal enemy." The former word is omitted in several MSS. as apparently redundant.

4. **Simul]** Sallust frequently uses this copulative to connect a second less important reason with the principal reason already given. Comp. *Catil.* 16, 17, 20, 56, and *Jugur.* 4. *cujus de virtute quia multi dixerunt praetereundum puto, simul ne per insolentiam quis existimet memet studium meum laudando extollere.*

5. **Complures]** i. q. *nonnulli*, in a positive sense, "several;" *plures* always comparative, with reference to another smaller number.

6. **Ab equit. Hisp.]** For the motive of this assassination, compare Dion, xxxvi. 27. *ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων*

ἀδικήσας τι αὐτοὺς ἐσφάγη. And Asconius, *ad Cic. Orat. cont. Ant. et L. Catil.* Piso perierat in Hispania, ibique dum injurias provincialibus facit, occisus est. Sallust's insinuation against Pompeius is not credible; he had not sufficient motive, besides being far absent and occupied with other affairs. If there was any domestic treachery, it lies with the Senatorial party itself.

7. *Iter faciens*] "On a march;" not, on his way into the country, where he had already arrived, as appears from Dion and Asconius.

8. *Sunt qui ita dicunt*] Some read *dicant*. The distinction, if correctly observed, comes to this, *sunt qui dicunt*, "there are some, I know, who say;" *sunt qui dicant*, "some, perhaps, may be found who say."

9. *Cnaei Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes*] An accidental hexameter. Many such have been discovered in the Latin prose-writers. Comp. *Jugur.* 5. Bellum scripturus sum quod populus Romanus. Tac. *Ann.* i. 1. Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere. *Germ.* 39. Sylvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram. Quintilian has remarked, *Inst. Orat.* ix. 4, that Livy's preface begins with a portion of an hexameter: *Facturusne operae pretium sim.* Drakenborch, on this passage, collects similar instances. See Liv. vii. 11, 13, 14; xxi. 9; xxii. 50; xxiii. 18. It is said that the only bit of prose that may pass for a pentameter is in Cicero. *de Off.* iii. 23. *Quid dominus navis? eripietne suum?*

10. *Clientes*] Persons whom Pompeius had attached to himself in the province when he commanded there against Sertorius: such as Caesar (*Bell. Civ.* i. 75) calls *beneficiarii*. See Caes. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 11. *magna esse Pompeii beneficia et magnas clientelas in provincia citeriore sciebat.*

CHAPTER XX.

1. *In rem fore*] "To the purpose," "advantageous." In the same sense *ob rem*, *Jugur.* 31; and *ex re*, Terent. *Phorm.* v. 7. 76.

2. *Universos*] "The whole number collectively."

3. *Spectata*] For the use of the neuter plur. compare below "*sita sunt.*"

4. *Res cecidisset*] Metaphor from the fall of dice.

5. *Per ignaviam, etc.*] "By means of," "through the instrumentality of." Comp. below, *emori per virtutem, vitam per dedecus amittere.* *Catil.* 12. *per summum scelus omnia sociis adimere.* 42. *inconsultè ac velut per dementiam agere.*

6. **Tempestatibus]** "Seasons of peril or trouble." *Tempestatas*, in its primary sense, is "a period of time," opposed to *tempus*, "a moment of time." Hence it is sometimes used for a favourable or fitting season, as *Cic. ad Div.* xiv. 4. *si esset licitum per nautas qui tempestatem praetermittere nolebant.* But more commonly for an unfavourable or perilous season.

7. **Incipere]** "To undertake."

8. **Idem velle, etc.]** *Comp. Jugur.* 31. *quos omnes eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit, sed haec inter bonos amicitia inter malos factio est.* The same sentiment is found in some places of Cicero, and echoed by Seneca *de Ira*, iii. 34. *vinculum amoris idem velle.*

9. **Ea demum]** "That after all."

10. **Agitavi]** The indic. represents that his views were already made known to them by personal communication.

11. **Diversi]** "Each severally."

12. **Concessit in]** "Has fallen under."

13. **Tetrarchae]** Properly, "rulers of quarters of kingdoms," applied to some oriental potentates, among whom the father often divided his dominions between his sons. But this signification was dropped, and the word was applied to certain petty or dependent sovereigns in the East, to whom the republic would not concede the kingly title. It has been remarked that the word *tetrarchae* is generally found in combination with *reges*. *Comp. Sall. Fr. Hist.* iv. 26. *tetrarchas regesque territos animi firmavit.* *Cic. pro Mil.* 28. *omitto socios, exteras nationes, regem, tetrarchas.* *In Vatin.* 12. *foedere cum civitatibus, cum regibus, cum tetrarchis.* *Vel. ii.* 51. *regum, tetrarcharum, simulque dynastarum copiis.* *Horat. Sat.* i. 3. 12. *modo reges atque tetrarchas, Omnia magna, loquens.*

14. **Vulgus]** "A mere rabble." *Comp. Justin.* xli. 1. *Parthi veluti vulgus sine nomine praeda victorum fuere.* (Observe the hexametrical flow.) *Hor. Carm.* ii. 16. *malignum spernere vulgus.* Here it is opposed to the respectable class of citizens, such as have legitimate influence and authority in the state.

15. **Sine gratia, sine auctoritate]** "Without interest or influence."

16. **Iis obnoxii]** "Under obligation to them," and therefore "at their mercy." *Comp. Catil.* 48. *plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii.*

17. **Pericula, etc.]** The dangers which the weak incur in

political competition with the powerful, which he goes on to specify, the loss of their elections, charges of bribery preferred against them by their opponents, poverty from the disappointment of their hopes of office and emolument, and from the judicial fines which may be inflicted upon them.

18. **Consenuerunt**] "Grown weak," metaphorically. Comp. Liv. xxxv. ne cunctando senescerent concilia, i. 22. senescere civitatem otio ratus.

19. **Cetera res expedit**] "Circumstances will effect the rest."

20. **Superare**] i. q. *abunde esse*. Comp. Jugur. 64.

21. **In exstruendo mari et montibus coaequandis**] "In raising seas and levelling mountains," i. e. excavating fish-ponds on shore, and cutting through land to admit the water of the sea. Comp. above, c. 13. subversos montes, maria constructa.

22. **Continuare**] i. q. *domos domibus adjicere*. "To join two or more houses together." Comp. Liv. xxxiv. 4. ingens cupido agros continuandi. Tac. Ann. xv. 39. domo palatium et hortos continuare. Comp. Lucan, i. 170. Longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis.

23. **Larem familiarem**] "A domestic genius," or "family divinity;" implying "a home."

24. **Nova diruunt**] "Destroy," from mere caprice, "what has been just built." Compare the story of Caesar in Suet. Jul. 46. munditiarum lautitiarumque studiosissimum multi prodiderunt: villam in Nemorensi a fundamentis iuchoatam magnoque sumptu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei responderet, totam diruisse, quanquam tenuem adhuc et obaeratum.

25. **Pecuniam trahunt, vexant**] "They spoil and plunder," i. e. "squander and dissipate their means:" *vero*, according to A. Gell. ii. 6, is from *vehor*; and *trahere, vexare* have much the same meaning as the military terms *agere, ferre*, "to drive and carry off;" thereby effecting a devastation.

26. **Decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt**] "Are set before your eyes," as prizes or other objects set before you. Comp. Jugur. 51, 54.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. **Quieta movere**] i. q. *turbare*. Comp. Tac. Ann. iii. 30. mota Africa. Imitated by Ammianus Marcellinus, xv. 5. composita turbare; quieta perturbare.

2. **Mercēs**] "Reward," "gain;" frequently in a bad sense

3. **Conditio belli**] "Condition, or terms on which they were to engage." *Conditio* and *condicio* may be regarded as originally different words, the first from *condere*, "making" or "construction," the second from *dicio* (connected with *dice*), "terms," "circumstances," "state of life," &c., but these merged eventually into one, which was spelt according to the more obvious derivation, *conditio*.

4. **Quid ubique**] This may be explained *quid opis, et ubi id haberet*. Comp. 47. *quid aut qua de causa consilii habuisset*.

5. **Tabulas novas**] "Fresh tablets," i.e. an abolition of debts. The metaphor is taken from the use of waxed tablets for scoring accounts. When the account was cleared, by payment or otherwise, the wax might be smoothed with the blunt end of the stylus, in readiness to begin a new score.

6. **Proscriptionem**] A placard by which notice is publicly given of a sale, &c. Ulpian, in the Digest, gives the name to the announcement over a shop: *Proscribere palam sic accipimus, claris literis ut de plano rectè legi possint, ante tabernam scilicet, vel ante eum locum, in quo negotiatio exercetur, nec in loco remoto, sed in evidenti*. Hence the proclamation by which the lives or properties of citizens were declared forfeited were called proscriptions. Sulla was the first to placard *tabulas proscriptionis*. Afterwards the second triumvirate, Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius.

7. **Fert**] "Has for its own," or "makes its own." *Ter. Heaut.* ii. 1. 3. *rerum quas fert adolescentia*. Or in the sense of *aufert*: as Horace, *Omnia fert aetas*.

8. **P. Sittium Nucerinum**] Sittius derived his name from Nuceria (Nocera) a city of Campania. He had fled to Mauretania to escape an accusation at Rome, and maintained himself in distinction there by siding alternately with the petty chiefs of the country in their intestine feuds. He took Caesar's side after the battle of Thapsus, and intercepted Scipio and other fugitives of the senatorial party. Caesar made him a grant of territory from the possessions of Juba king of Numidia, where he was ultimately killed in a quarrel with a native chief.

9. **C. Antonium**] This Antonius had the cognomen *Hybrida*. He was the son of the famous orator M. Antonius, and brother of M. Antonius Creticus, who was father of Antony the triumvir. He became consul in the year 691, and was Cicero's colleague.

10. **Omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum**] "Distressed by exigencies of various kinds."

11. *Praedae fuerat*] “Had been an occasion of booty, illegitimate gain.” *Comp. c. 48. nam alia belli facinora praedae magis quam detrimento fore.*

12. *Petitionem*] “Suit for the consulship.”

CHAPTER XXII.

1. *Populares*] Properly, “of his own nation:” hence, “associates,” as *Catil. 24. quod factum primo populares conjunctionis concusserat.* *Terent. Phorm. i. 1. 1. amicus summus meus et popularis Geta.* *Donatus on Ter. Adelph. ii. 1. 1. popularitas in omnis rei consortium sumitur.*

2. *Adigeret*] This reading (for *adiceret* or *addiceret*) guessed by Cortius, has been confirmed by MSS. The phrase is common: *adigere* without the prep. occurs: as *Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 76. ipse idem jusjurandum adigit Afranium; and ii. 28.*

3. *Humani corporis sanguinem*] The redundant expression seems intended for emphasis. This ceremony is mentioned by the historians, *Florus, iv. 1; Dion Cass. xxxvii. 20,* who adds that a boy was slain for the purpose. But the custom of ratifying an oath by drawing blood from the body and drinking it existed among the Scythians and Dacians, and was probably in this case a remnant of an old Italian superstition. The Christian apologists pointed with triumph to this horrid rite. *Minucius, Octav. 30. et quod Saturni filio dignum est...ipsum credo docuisse sanguinis foedere conjurare Catilinam.* Cicero may possibly allude to it *in Catil. 1. sica. quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris et devota sit...;* but Sallust himself insinuates that it was at least unknown to Cicero. Perhaps it was a single drop of blood mixed in a bowl of wine to preserve the shadow of an antique ceremonial.

4. *Atque eo dictitare fecisse quo*] “And they went on to say, he did so in order that,” &c. *Dictitare.* The historic infin.; the subject being the same as to *fuere qui dicerent.* So Dietsch and others, after the common reading, which however seems hardly admissible. The MSS. vary, e.g. *dictante, dictare, dictitavere,* but present nothing satisfactory. *Dictitent,* “they repeated,” or “asseverated,” would give sense, but has no authority. *Eo...quo,* “in order that.”

5. *Alius alii...conscii*] The dat.; as in the construction, *conscire sibi.* *Terent. Heaut. i. 1. 69. qui fuere et conscii.* *Tac. Ann. i. 43. flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius.*

6. *Ciceronis invidiam*] Passivè, “the odium against Cicero,” when he was afterwards accused by the tribune

Clodius of getting Roman citizens punished with death without an appeal to the people. For this sense of the word comp. c. 6. *invidia ex opulentia orta est*; and c. 23. *nobilitas invidia (Ciceronis) aestuabat*. Cicero himself thus defines it (*Tusc. Disp. iv. 7. 16*) *invidia non in eo qui invidet solum dicitur, sed etiam in eo cui invidetur*.

7. **Fro magnitudine]** "Considering its importance."

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. **Coopertus]** "Overwhelmed." We say, "covered with infamy," or "with ridicule;" the Romans applied the metaphor to the deeds themselves, as Cic. *in Ver. i. 4. sceleribus coopertum*. Liv. xxxix. 15. *cooperti stupris*. Horace's use of the phrase approaches nearer to ours: *Sat. ii. 1. 68. Famosisque Lupus coopertus versibus*.

2. **Senatu...moverant]** This is the phrase for "expelling from the senate," which was done by the censor omitting the name on reading the list of the order at the *lustrum*. Comp. Liv. xxvii. 11. xxxiv. 44. xxxviii. 28. The same phrase is applied more generally, *statu, possessione movere*. *A moverant*, the reading of one MS. and several editions, is incorrect.

3. **Suamet]** The termination *met*, is generally confined to *ego, tu*, and *sui*; occasionally however we find *meummet, meamet, meimet*.

4. **Prorsus]** "In short." See note on c. 15.

5. **Neque dicere neque facere, etc.]** "Reckless in every thing he said or did:" not merely careless, but wanton and desperate: as Vell. ii. 95. *Clodius qui neque dicendi neque faciendi ullum nisi quem vellet nosset modum*. Compare the same phrase in Liv. xxvi. 15.

6. **Consuetudo]** "Intimacy," more particularly "sexual;" Lucr. v. 1279 *consuetudo concinnat amorem*: then "criminal," as in this place: *stupri*, though supplied in some editions, is not required.

7. **Montesque]** The commentators have collected passages where "seas and mountains of gold" are spoken of hyperbolically: as e.g. *montes auri polliceri, χρυσίου πόντος, &c.* Persius, ii. 65. uses *montes*, absolutè, for "heaps of gold;" *Cratero magnos promittere montes*.

8. **Obnoxia]** scil. *amori, affectui*: as Tac. *Ann. xvi. 6*: *i. q. morigera*, "obedient." So in Seneca, *obnoxius domino*.

9. Insolentiae] "Unusual audacity." Comp. Hor. *Epod.* 16. extr. Meaeque terra cedat insolentiae.

10. *Haud occultum habuit*] "Did not keep it secret:" the phrase expresses continuance of action, and so far differs from the simple *haud occultavit*.

11. *Sublato auctore*] "Leaving out the name of her informant." (In English the pres. part. is preferred in such phrases to the past, which latter is usual in Latin.) Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 44. id nomen ex omnibus libris tollatur. ii. 24. Caepionem de oratione sua sustulit.

12. *Quae quoque modo*] For *quae et quo modo*: as in *Jugur.* 39. Comp. also *quid ubique*, *Catil.* 21. Or it may be taken for *quocumque modo*, implying the shifts she used to indicate her means of information while concealing the real fact which would have compromised Curius.

13. *Aestuabat...credebant*] Observe the sing. and plur. both connected with the same noun of number; and comp. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 24. ut quis et longinquo advenerat miracula narrabant.

14. *Quamvis egregius*] "Ever so excellent:" i. e. in the estimation of the hearer, not of the speaker, so as to retain the force of *vis* from *volo*: "as excellent as ever you please."

15. *Homo novus*] "A new man:" a term of disparagement applied to candidates for public office, whose families were not ennobled by having attained any of the curule magistracies. Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* οἱ ἀπὸ γένους δόξαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἀρχόμενοι δὲ γνωρίζεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν. Cicero frequently refers to his own want of nobility, and to the slur it entailed upon him, as *Phil.* vi. 6. quid enim non debeo vobis, Quirites, quem vos, a se ortum, hominibus nobilissimis omnibus honoribus praetulistis. Comp. the celebrated panegyric upon him in Juvenal, viii. 226:

Hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
Municipalis eques.

16. *Post fuere*] "Were postponed." The words should be written separately, as in *Catil.* 53. ante Romanos fuisse.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. *Comitiis habitis*] The consular comitia, or assembly of the centuries for the election of consuls, were held generally in June or July, six months before the consuls-designate entered upon their office. After the assembly had been held and the votes given the consuls-designate were declared: *deklarabantur*, or *renuntiabantur*.

2. **Populares conjunctionis]** "The associates in the plot;" *popularis* has no bad sense, and should not be rendered by "accomplices." See above, c. 22.

3. **Pecuniam...sumptam mutuam]** Money taken up by way of loan. *Mutuus*, from *mutō*, used in its primary meaning, i. e. "exchanged."

4. **Faesulae]** The modern Fiesole, an ancient Etruscan city on a hill, two miles to the north of the modern Florence.

5. **Princeps]** "The first to commence military operations." *Caes. Bell. Gall.* vii. 2. *Carnutes principes se ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur.*

6. **Sumptus...toleraverant]** "Had met, though with difficulty, their lavish expenditure by," &c.

7. **Modum fecerat]** i. q. *finem attulerat*, "had put an end to."

8. **Servitia]** "Slaves." The abstract for the concrete: used always by Sallust for slaves as a class: individual slaves he calls *servi*. Dietsch.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. **Virilis audaciae]** *Comp. Vell.* i. 1. *virilis animi foemina.* *Flor.* iv. 5. *virilis militiae uxor.*

2. **Viro]** *scil.* Decimus Junius Brutus (see *Catil.* 40); he had been consul A. U. 677.

3. **Liberis]** One of her sons was D. Junius Brutus Albinus, *legatus* to Julius Caesar in Gaul, and afterwards one of his assassins.

4. **Docta]** Observe the triple construction, with the abl., the infin., and the accus.: unless *psallere*, *multa alia (facere)*, depend upon *solebat*, or some such verb understood. Compare *posse versus facere*, below.

5. **Psallere, saltare]** Some MSS. read also *canere* or *cantare*. *Canere* to sing, *psallere* to sing to the lyre.

6. **Elegantius quam necesse est probae]** The ancient Romans regarded dancing and singing as accomplishments exhibited for the entertainment of others. Hence they were always connected in their minds with servile or histrionic performances. The fashion of dancing for amusement, or to contribute to social festivity among themselves, was learnt at a later period from the Greeks. In the last century of the republic some of the most distinguished senators were noted for their excellence in dancing, but not without exciting much

contempt from grave censors (see the chapter of Macrobius (*Saturn.* ii. 10) upon the subject): and Horace stigmatizes the fashion of teaching young women the soft Ionian dances. *Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos Matura virgo, et fingitur artubus. Carn.* iii. 6. 26. Sallust by the word *necesse* seems to admit that the practice was tolerated in his time, but regarded with jealousy. *Probae*: i. q. *pudicae*. Hor. *Epod.* 17. 40. tu pudica, tu proba. If there is any distinction *proba* may refer to manners, *pudica* to morals, as in Sall. *Fr. Hist.* oris probi, animi inverecundi.

7. *Multa alia*] The ablat. *litteris*, the infin. *psallere*, and the acc. *alia*, seem all to depend upon *docta*, "taught or skilled in."

8. *Instrumenta luxuriae*] "The means of corruption," or "vice."

9. *Decus*] "Good name, honour." Comp. *Jugur.* 4. *decus atque libertatem gratificari*.

10. *Fuit*] Many MSS. read *fuere*; which is an attempt to correct a supposed incorrectness in the construction of the sense. The sing. *fuit* is defended by *Jugur.* 18. *ea loca quae proxime Carthaginem Numidia appellatur, not appellantur. Ovid, Art. Am.* iii. 222. *Quas geritis vestes sordida lana fuit*.

11. *Lubidine sic accensa*] Scil. *Sempronia*, not the abl. abs., though the phrase *accendi* may be applied to passions, as well as to persons. *Jugur.* 6. *accensa studia*.

12. *Peteret*] "Courtied." Comp. *Propert.* ii. 16. 27. *Quum te jam multi peterent tu me una petisti. Senec. Medea,* 218. *petebant tunc meos thalamos proci, Qui nunc petuntur*.

13. *Creditum abjuraverat*] "Had forsworn a trust." Among the Romans, the absence of facilities for bartering and exchange rendered it necessary to keep hoards of gold and silver, and these it was often requisite to entrust to the care of friends. The facility of breaking such engagements caused their faithful fulfilment to be regarded as an eminent virtue. Comp. *Juvenal,* xiii. 60:

Nunc si depositum non infitietur amicus,
Si reddat veterem cum tota aegrine follem,
Prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis,
Quaque coronata lustrari debeat agna.

14. *Praeceptis abierat*] A combination of two phrases; *praeceptis ire*, "to fall headlong;" but *abire*, "to stray from the right path." A man is said *in alia omnia abire*, who digresses from the subject under discussion. *Abire* is also connected with *praeceptis* in its ordinary sense in *Livy,* xli. 10. *praeceptis in provinciam abiit*.

15. **Haud absurdum]** "Not contemptible." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 45. of Poppaea, the wife of Nero, a passage evidently imitated from this: *sermo comis, nec absurdum ingenium; modestiam praeferre et lascivia uti; rarus in publicum egressus, idque velata parte oris.* See above note 2. on *Catil.* 3.

16. **Posse]** Supply *inerat*, or some similar verb, which the writer omits in order to pass abruptly to the summing up of the whole character: *prorsus...inerat.*

17. **Jocum movere]** "To raise a laugh." Comp. Hor. *Epist.* i. 19. 19. O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe Bilem, saepe jocum vestri movere tumultus. So, stomachum, fletum alicui movere, "to cause anger, draw tears," &c.

18. **Vel molli, vel procaci]** Both words of bad signification, the latter the stronger of the two, "either amatory or meretricious." Indeed Cicero says, *pro Caelio*, 20. ut non solum meretrix sed etiam procax videretur.

19. **Facetiae...lepos]** "Wit and grace."

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. **Nihilo minus]** "Having thus made his preparations for seizing power by force, if necessary, Catiline, *although repulsed in his previous attempt*, nevertheless sued again for the consulship of the year following," i. e. of the year 692. Kritz. Or, "although he had made preparations for seizing power, nevertheless he sued for the next year's consulship in the legitimate way." Gerlach and others: which gives a simpler meaning. If he became consul-designate, he expected to have much influence with one of the actual consuls, viz. Antonius; for the actual consuls were in a great degree dependent upon their successors for the salary, retinue, and military force, with which they were sent to their provinces.

2. **Dolus aut astutiae]** No slur is intended in the word *dolus*, which meant, in the best Latinity, "contrivance," whether in a good or a bad sense. Afterwards the sense became restricted. Comp. Ulpian, *Dig.* iv. 3. veteres dolum etiam bonum dicebant, et pro solertia hoc nomen accipiebant, maxime si adversus hostem latronemve aliquis machinetur. Comp. also Gellius, xii. 9; and Festus, who thus explains the law phrase, *sine dolo malo.*

3. **Ad hoc]** "In addition."

4. **Pactione provinciae]** The consuls generally chose by lot between the provinces of the Cisalpine Gaul and Macedonia. The former was important from its proximity to the city, but

the latter more attractive from its greater extent and wealth. Cicero having obtained Macedonia transferred it to his colleague, which was considered an act of great generosity. But Cicero did not intend to take a province at all: he preferred remaining in the city, where his engagements as an advocate ensured him riches and consideration. Antonius eventually succeeded to the province of Macedonia, which he governed for two years, and was recalled and impeached for extortion, and also charged with complicity with Catiline. He was defended by Cicero, but condemned and banished.

5. *In campo*] “In the campus Martius,” where the election was held. This attempt is referred to by Cicero, *in Catil.* i. 5, where he says that Catiline sought to kill not only him, as actual consul, but also the competitors for the ensuing consulship.

6. *Aspera foedaque evererant*] “Had turned out to his injury and his shame.” The adjunct. for the adverb. Comp. *Jugur.* 63. *cuncta prospera eventura*; but *Catil.* 52. *bene consulendo prospere omnia cedunt.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. *C. Manlium...dimisit*] Manlius must have returned to Rome, for he is mentioned c. 24, as already at Faesulae, unless the writer has forgotten himself.

2. *Camertem*] Of Camerinum, a town in Umbria, near the borders of Picenum.

3. *Picenum*] A district between the Apennines and the Adriatic, from the river Aternus on the south to the Aesis on the north.

4. *C. Julium*] About this Julius nothing more is known: he was probably not a Caesar. The Julian gens was already widely spread by clientship.

5. *Apuliam*] A region south-east of Picenum, bordering on the Adriatic, and extending to the Iapygian promontory, the eastern extremity of Italy.

6. *Quem ubique*] See notes on c. 21, and 23.

7. *Cum telo esse*] “To wear arms:” forbidden by the Twelve Tables, and by later laws. It became, however, common in these times, and was again prohibited by a law of Pompeius in his sole consulship, A. U. 702. The conspirators who murdered Caesar carried daggers in the case which belonged to the *stylus*. *Cum telo esse* is the antique formula. Cic. *pro Milon.*

4. ipsa lex esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat. Comp. in *Catil.* i. 6; and the phrases *esse cum toga, cum imperio*.

8. **Jubere]** scil. *cum telo esse*.

9. **Festinare]** "He was busy."

10. **Intempesta nocte]** "Late at night." Servius, in *Virg. Aen.* iii. 587, explains this phrase, *nox intempesta dicta est media, tanquam inactuosa*; "unseasonable for action." *Macrob. Sat.* i. 3. non idonea rebus gerendis.

11. **Per M. Porcium Laecam]** It appears from Cicero that the meeting was held in the house of Laeca. The time of meeting is indicated by Cicero *pro Sulla*, 18. *ea nocte quae consecuta est posterum diem nonarum Novembris, 6—7 Nov. 691=11 Jan. B.C. 62*, allowing for the error in the calendar before its reformation by Julius Caesar.

12. **Ibi]** May mean *apud eum*, or better, *eo conventu*. Comp. *Catil.* 5. *ibique juventutem exercuit*: scil. in illis rebus.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. **L. Vargunteius senator]** Cicero says they were both knights; in *Catil.* i. 4. *reperiti sunt duo equites Rom. qui te ista cura liberarent, et sese illa ipsa nocte paullo ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur*. Appian and Plutarch both give different names from Sallust. This discrepancy in the evidence is not unimportant, as regards the credibility of the story as told by Sallust and Cicero.

2. **Paullo post]** scil. *post intempestatam noctem*: i.e. *primo mane*, "very early in the morning." Clients and dependents who came to salute their patrons placed themselves at their doors before day-break in their eagerness to anticipate one another. Virgil says simply, *Mane salutantes*; but Juvenal, *Sideribus dubiis aut illo tempore quo se Frigida circumagunt pigri sarraca Bootae*. *Cic. ad Attic.* i. 18. *quum bene completa domus esset tempore matutino*. Symmachus in the 4th century speaks of keeping awake all night for the purpose: *nondum ante januam eminentium potestatum vigilem noctem salutator expertus es*. *Epist.* viii.

3. **Confodere]** i.e. *multis ac gravibus vulneribus enecare*. Dietsch. So, *concidere* *Juv.* xiv. 291. *Concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas*.

4. **Janua prohibiti]** Comp. *Jugur.* 21. *Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit*: "kept out of the city by means of the walls."

5. **In Etruria]** The Etruscans had been spoiled and massacred by Sulla, for their adherence to the Marian party. See Florus, iii. 21. Cic. *ad Att.* i. 19. They had risen against the Senate immediately after Sulla's death, when Lepidus headed a movement against the existing government. See Florus, iii. 22. Sall. *Fr. Hist.* i. 14. Etruria et omnes reliquiae belli arrectae.

6. **Sollicitare]** Always in Sallust of exciting people to do something. See *Catil.* 36, 39, 50. *Jugur.* 19. Dietsch.

7. **Ex Sullanis colonis]** "Of the Sullan colonists," i.e. the veterans planted by Sulla on the estates of dispossessed Italian communities to the number of 120,000 or more. See Cicero, *in Catil.* ii. 9.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. **Ancipiti malo]** "The double calamity;" i.e. the plot within the city, and the insurrection in Etruria, &c. Comp. *Jugur.* 67. neque caveri anceps malum posse.

2. **Rem ad senatum refert]** A technical phrase; "he moves a resolution in the senate concerning the affair;" the more usual form being *referre de aliqua re ad sen.*, with the same meaning. Comp. a third form, *Catil.* 50. consul convocato senatu refert quid de his fieri placeat qui in custodiam traditi erant: "submits a resolution to the pleasure of the senate." This was a. d. xii. Kal. Nov. Cic. *in Catil.* i. 3. meministine me ante diem xii. Kal. Nov. dicere in senatu certo die fore in armis qui dies futurus esset a. d. viii. Kal. Novembres? The decree which followed was given on xi. Kal. Nov. = 22 Oct. 691 = 26 Dec. 63 B.C., as appears from the notice of Asconius, who says that the first oration against Catiline was delivered, cum octavus decimus dies esset postquam factum est senatus consultum, etc. The *Orat. in Catil.* 1. was delivered on vi. Id. Nov. = 8 Nov. 691 = 12 Jan. 62 B.C. This, it will be seen, was some days before the meeting in Porcius Laeca's house, and the attempt to murder the consul.

3. **Solet]** Absol. for *fieri solet*: as *Catil.* 30. *Jugur.* 15, 25, 66.

4. **Ea potestas...maxima, etc.]** Observe the place which *maxima* holds in this sentence, removed from its substantive, and give it a *pregnant* sense: "This power, which is paramount to all, the Roman law allows the senate to confer upon the magistrate: the power, namely, of raising an army, &c." Such a decree was denominated *Senatus consultum ultimum*. This was equivalent to giving the consuls dictatorial power, and was

far more convenient to the nobles than creating a dictator, which they had not ventured to do for 150 years, except in the case of Sulla.

5. **Domi militiaeque]** Ordinarily the consul exercised no military imperium within the city, but only in the camp: on these occasions the imperium was added to the *judicium* or *ius juris dicendi*, within the city also, i. e. the city was put under military law.

6. **Nullius]** There is MS. authority for the genitive, and the common reading, *nulli*, can hardly stand, whether it be connected with *rerum*, or *consuli*. The meaning of the passage is: "except in the case of the senate using its prerogative to issue its ultimate decree, the consul has no *ius* of any kind, either separate or conjoined, but what he derives from the appointment of the people." The phrase *populi jussus* is equivocal. Properly it means the decree of the curies, by which, in early times, the imperium was conferred upon the kings, and after the establishment of the republic, upon the consuls, posterior to their election by the centuries. In process of time this became a mere form. But the phrase may be used loosely for the election itself, by which the consul became virtually invested with the *ius juris dicendi*, and *ius imperandi* beyond the walls. Sallust means perhaps to reserve to the people the right of extending this *ius* in extreme cases to paramount authority within the city; which however they never ventured to claim, though they strongly objected to its exercise by the senate.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. **Arma portari]** Gaius distinguishes *ferre*, *portare* and *agere*: *Ferri proprie dicimus quae quis suo corpore bajulat, portari ea quae quis in jumento secum ducit, agi ea quae animalia sunt: portare* is also emphatic or poetic for *ferre*. So *ferre*, *vehere*, *portare* are used with some distinction by Statius, *Theb.* viii. 315, in an address to the Earth which had swallowed up Amphiaraus:

domos Atlanta supernas

Ferre laborantem nullo vehis ipsa labore:

Nos tantum portare negas? nos, Diva, gravaris?

scil. "to bear," "to carry," "to support."

2. **Senati decreto]** This ancient form of the genitive is sanctioned by Nonius, viii. 10; and Donatus on Terence *Andr.* ii. 2. 28. notices that Sallust used it. *Tumulti* also occurs, *Catil.* 59.

3. **Q. Marcius Rex]** Consul with L. Caecilius Metellus, A. U. 686, and afterwards proconsul in Cilicia. Cicero praises his courage and military skill, in *Pison.* 23. Ab Anco Marcio sunt Marci Reges. Suet. *Cal.* 6. Marcius and Martius are probably the same word.

4. **Q. Metellus Creticus]** Consul with L. Hortensius A. U. 685: he subdued Crete as proconsul.

5. **Circumque loca]** "The neighbouring regions:" *circum* and *circa* are thus used absolutely for *quae circ. sunt*, very commonly in Livy. See ix. 11; xxiv. 3. The MSS. read *circumque ea loca*, and the emendation is due to Cortius, who saw that the reading must have arisen from the transcribers' ignorance of the idiom. *Ea*, meaning Apulia, would make the passage absurd. *Loca* is governed by *in*.

6. **Hi utrique]** For the more correct form, *horum uterque*. So *Catil.* 5. *quae utraque*. Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 11. *pater filiam, avia neptem, illa utrosque intuens*, for *utrumque*.

7. **Ad urbem imperatores]** These words are to be connected together: generals returned from their provinces, and waiting outside the walls for the day of their triumph, before which they were not allowed to enter the city; or who, having received the imperium, had not yet completed their levies. Asconius explains the phrase, *Act. in Verr.* i. 15. *sic dici solet de iis qui cum potestate provinciali aut nuper a provincia revertissent, aut nondum in provinciam profecti essent*.

8. **Calumnia]** "Machination, cabal," from an old word *caluo, decipio*, Priscian; who cites a passage from the *Historiae* of Sallust: *contra ille calui ratus*.

9. **Q. Pompeius Rufus]** This man, who was praetor A. U. 691, is to be distinguished from another bearing the same names, tribune of the people A. U. 702, who made himself conspicuous as a turbulent partizan of Cn. Pompeius, in that year sole consul. Rufus, the praetor, is praised by Cicero for his moderation and integrity. After serving the state in the affair of Catiline, he obtained the proconsular government of Africa. There were two families belonging to the *gens Pompeia*, distinguished by the surnames Rufus and Strabo. Cn. Pompeius Magnus was son of Cn. Pompeius Strabo. The praenomens of the Rufi, so far as they are known to us, were Aulus and Quintus; those of the Strabones, Cnaeus and Sextus.

10. **Q. Metellus Celer]** Of the *gens Caccilia*, one of the most numerous and widely ramified of the great Roman houses. One great branch of it bore the surname Metellus; but this family again was subdivided, and its various offsets were dis-

tinguished by additional surnames; such as *Pius*, *Nepos* and *Celer*. Metellus Celer and Metellus Nepos were brothers, both sons of a Nepos. A story is told by Plutarch, that this Celer received his surname for the celerity with which he provided a show of gladiators for the solemnity of his father's funeral. But the surname Celer was borne by another Metellus before him, by whom he was probably adopted. The praetor Celer became afterwards consul, A. U. 694.

11. *Permissum*] "Authority was given." Comp. Cic. *in Catil.* i. 2. *senatusconsulto consulibus permissa respublica*, "put in charge of the consuls." Lucan, i. 595. *Pontifices, sacri quibus est permissa potestas.*

12. *Sestertia centum*] "One hundred sestertia," i.e. "one hundred thousand sestertii (sesterces)." The *sestertius* was a Roman coin, one-fourth of the denarius (10 asses), and therefore equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ asses. Hence the name, which is an abbreviation of *semis tertius* (scil. *nummus*); i.e. 1 an as, 2 an as, and 3 a half as. "Hence the symbol HS or IIS, which is used to designate the sestertius. It stands for either LLS. (*Libra Libra et Semis*) or for IIS, the two I's merely forming the numeral two (scil. *asses* or *librae*), and the whole being, in either case, equivalent to *dupondius et semis*."

	£	s.	d.	f.
"The value of the sestertius up to the time of Augustus	=0	0	2	·5
— of the sestertium	=8	17	1	

After Augustus,

the sestertius	=0	0	1	3·5
the sestertium	=7	16	3.	

See Smith's *Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*, Art. *Sestertius*.

13. *Gladiatoriae familiae*] "Troops of gladiators." It was a commercial speculation to maintain a number of swordsmen, trained in schools (*ludi*) by masters of the art (*lanistae*), and to let these out to the magistrates for public shows. The gladiators were at first captives or criminals; but persons were found to offer themselves voluntarily for pay; and it became usual to affix a period (three years) for their service; after which, if they survived, they received a staff (*rude donati*) in token of their discharge. The large numbers of these gladiators collected, particularly at Capua, became an object of alarm to the government in times of disturbance. On this occasion their schools were dispersed in various towns as a measure of precaution.

14. *Minores magistratus*] The aediles, quaestors and triumvirs, appointed for various purposes. The inferior magistrates were elected by the *comitia tributa*, the superior by the

centuriata. Aul. Gell. xiii. 15. The tribunes of the people were not strictly magistrates. The establishment of the watch is mentioned by Cicero, in *Catil.* i. 1. Augustus first instituted a regular police, *cohors vigilum*, in Rome.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. *Quae*] The neut. plur. "which things." Comp. *Jugur.* 41. *scilicet ea, quae secundae res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere.*

2. *Reipublicae magnitudine*] "From the greatness of the Republic," the ablat. of the cause, i. q. *propter reip. magnitudinem.* Comp. *Jugur.* 42. *Gracchis cupidine victoriae haud satis moderatus animus fuit.*

3. *Incesserat*] Omitted without reason in most editions on account of the dat. *quibus.* But comp. *Caes. B. C.* iii. 74. *exercitui Caesaris tantus incessit dolor.* Liv. iv. 57. *cura patribus incessit.* Tac. *Ann.* iii. 36. *incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia.* Cicero, *ad Div.* xvi. 12, says, *mirus invaserat furor improbis.* Translate: "assailed by fear of war, to which from the greatness of the republic they had long been unaccustomed."

4. *Afflictare*] Properly, "to dash against," as of ships driven on shore, the conflict of armies, &c.; but it does not seem to occur in the sense of *plangere* or *prosternere*, as an act of lamentation. Construe it metaphorically, "were afflicted," "distressed."

5. *Miserari*] "Lamented over." *Misereri*, "to feel compassion in the mind;" *miserari*, "to express compassion."

6. *Eadem illa movebat*] "Continued plotting as before."

7. *Lege Plautia*] A law *de vi*, i. e. against public violence, carried by M. Plautius Sylvanus, a tribune of the plebs, A. U. 665. It made the offence of wearing arms in the city, and occupying the public places with an armed force, capital, in the Roman sense, i. e. involving loss of *caput*, or civil condition, whether by death, or, as an alternative, by self-banishment.

8. *L. Paulo*] This was L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, brother of the triumvir M. Lepidus, consul A. U. 704. He was proscribed by the triumvirs A. U. 711, but escaped death.

9. *Et ut sui*] The MSS. fluctuate between this and the much easier readings, *aut sui*; *ac sui*; *vel sui*; *quasi sui*. In such cases the harder construction is generally to be preferred,

as the more likely to have been altered by the transcribers. Construe: "And as if to clear himself." *Ut* is thus used for *quasi* by Cicero, *de Orat.* i. 50. *neque ea ut sua possedisse, sed ut aliena libasse*: and elsewhere.

10. **Sui expurgandi**] A gerund in the genit. agrees in case gender and number with its noun if sing. as *sui expurgandi, invidiae ferendae* &c. but a noun in the plural may be governed in case by genit. of gerund in sing. as: *poenarum solvendi tempus*. Cic. *de Invent.* ii. 2. *ex magna copia nobis fuit exemplorum eligendi potestas*.

11. **Jurgio**] "A frivolous and malicious charge." Comp. Cic. *pro Cael.* 13. *omnia sunt alia, non crimina, sed maledicta jurgii petulantis magis quam publicae quaestionis*.

12. **Luculentam**] "Splendid, admirable:" used of orations in this sense by Cicero, *ad Att.* xii. 21. *Cato verbis luculentioribus et pluribus rem eandem prehenderat*.

13. **Utilem**] "That did good service." *Utilis* has frequently an emphatic sense, "of admirable service." Comp. Ovid, *Metam.* v. 212. *Et pedibus Pterelas et naribus utilis Agre*. Propert. iii. 7. 19. *Hic satus ad pacem, hic castrensibus utilis armis*. In the same manner, *non utilis*, "pernicious." Ovid, *Met.* xv. 103. *postquam non utilis auctor Victibus invidit*. Lucan, x. 26. (Alexander) *non utile mundo Editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub uno Esse viro*. There is therefore no cold disparagement, as has been supposed, implied in the phrase, *luculentam atque utilem reipubl.* Sallust here refers to the first speech against Catiline.

14. **Quam postea scriptam edidit**] Sallust does not pretend to give Cicero's speeches, because they were published by himself.

15. **Ubi ille assedit**] "Stantes enim dicebant, ubi iudicium erat sedere." Kritz. "assidere," in forensic language, to sit down in one's place beside others. Cic. *pro Rosc. Amerin.* *peroravit aliquando, assedit; surrexi ego*.

16. **Ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda**] i. q. *pro dissimulatione sua*. Comp. *Jugur.* 7. *Jugurtha ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio*. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 3:

*Utque erat impatiens irae Sigeia torvo
Litora respexit, classemque in litore, vultu.*

17. **Inquillnus civis**] From *incolo*, "a sojourner in a city;" as a lodger in a house, one who has no rights of possession. This is an unjust sarcasm on Cicero, who was a genuine citizen of Rome; but the proud patrician sneers at the plebeians generally, as an adventitious class.

18. *Ad hoc*] “Hereto,” “in addition,” as in c. 26, note 3. not, *ad hoc* maledictum.

19. *Parricidam*] “Unnatural murderer.” This epithet is applied to any monstrous criminal: as *Catil.* 14. omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis: but more particularly to traitors against the state, slayers of their country, *Cic. in Catil.* i. 7. te patria odit ac metuit, ac jam diu te nihil judicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare. *Comp. Tac. Hist.* i. 85. hostem et parricidam Vitellium vocantes.

20. *Ruina restinguam*] Just as a conflagration may be extinguished by the falling or pulling down of the house. Cicero, *pro Murena*, 25, cites the same phrase as used by Catiline: quum Catoni respondisset si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua sed ruina restincturum. This reply, according to Cicero, was made not to himself, but to Cato, who probably had followed him in the debate.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. *Quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant*] *Consuli* is governed by *procedebant*, the *dativus commodi*, rather harshly applied; “since his plans did not succeed with regard to the consul.” The same construction follows immediately, *insidias consuli maturent*.

2. *Optimum factum*] Simply, “the best thing;” *factu*, which many MSS. read, would express more fully, “the best thing to be done.” So *bonum factum* “good!” *Comp. Suet. Jul.* Bonum factum: ne quis Senatori, novo curiam monstrare velit. It was a common heading for proclamations. *Plaut. Poen.* prolog. Bonum factum: edicta ut servetis mea.

3. *Nocte intempesta*] See note 10, Chap. xxvii. This was the night of the 8th—9th of November, A. U. 691=12, 13 Jan. B. C. 62. Cicero delivered the second Catilinarian postredie quam Catilina profugit, v. Id. Nov. = 9 Nov.

4. *Prope diem*] “Shortly:” scil. *ad prope diem*, i. e. *ad diem qui prope est*; *ad proximum diem*. For this adjectival use of the prep. *comp.* *Hor. Od.* iv. 6. 3. Trojae prope victor altae Phthius Achilles, “the nearly-conqueror of Troy.” *Lucan.* vi. 363. tuus, Oeneu, Pene gener, “thy almost-son-in-law.”

5. *Accessurum*] Understand, *pollicetur*.

6. *Ex suo numero*] “Of his band;” *numerus* in its

figurative sense of order, rank, class, &c., as in *numerus deorum*, *numerus beatorum*. Comp. *Lucr. v. 180*:

Qui nunquam vero vitae gustavit amorem,
Nec fuit in numero (scil. viventium).

Virg. *Aen. v. 305*:

Nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit.

7. **Cum mandatis**] “With instructions.” The *command* refers to the person charged to deliver the message, not to the person to whom the message is to be delivered.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. **Feneratores**] More correct than *foeneratores*, as derived from *feo*, i.e. *gigno*.

2. **Patriae**] The same double construction with gen. and dat. occurs *Jugur. 84*. *plerosque militiae paucos fama cognitos accire*. Comp. above c. 25. note on *multa alia*.

3. **Lege uti**] “To have the benefit of the law.” The laws of the Twelve Tables fixed the highest rate of interest at $\frac{1}{12}$ th per ann. of the sum borrowed, = $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. This was called *unciarium fenus*, the *uncia* being $\frac{1}{12}$ th of the *as*. This was reduced to one half by the consuls Manlius and Plautius, A. U. 407. *Liv. vii. 27*. These enactments were generally disregarded: in the time of Horace money could fetch as much as 5 per cent. per month. See *Sat. i. 2. 14*. *Quinas hic capiti mercedes execat*. Comp. *Tac. Ann. vi. 16*. But the passage in the text refers more particularly to the *lex Paetelia Papiria*, A. U. 428, by which imprisonment for debt was forbidden. See *Liv. viii. 28*. At an earlier period the creditor had power not only to confine his debtor, but to sell him into slavery. Aulus Gellius, xx. 1, cites a law of the Twelve Tables which enacted that if there were more creditors than one they might cut up the debtor's body in due proportion: *partes secanto: si plus minusve secuerunt se fraude esto*. Gellius understood this law literally, and it has generally been interpreted accordingly. Some, however, maintain that the *sectio* refers only to a division of the debtor's effects. Perhaps it was a rude way of expressing the idea of strict retribution, like the provisions of the Mahometan law of retaliation, not meant to be actually enforced.

4. **Atque praetoris**] The praetor urbanus was the principal judge in all civil processes, and the poor debtors complained that he favoured their wealthier creditors. In the *edictum* which he issued on assuming his office, he declared the

principles on which he should administer justice, and frequently trenched upon the provisions of actual law.

5. **Vestrum]** The passage was thus read by A. Gellius (xx. 6), though many MSS. give *vestri*. Observe that *nostrum*, *vestrum* are genitives sing. of the possessives *noster*, *vester*, not genitives plural of *nos*, *vos*, as the grammars for the most part assert. In partition *nostrum* must be used, as *primus nostrum*, *multi nostrum*, not *nostrum*. On the other hand, *amor nostrum*, where "being or condition," *negotium*, may be understood. So where *nos* is the subject, *pars nostrum amat*: but *vivas memor nostrum*, *noster* being the object.

6. **Boni]** "Good citizens."

7. **Argentum aere solutum est]** The silver coin, the *sestertius*, was paid with the brass coin, the *as*. This refers to an adjustment of debts made by the government in the year u.c. 668, when obligations were cancelled by the payment of one-fourth of the amount (*quadrante capitis*, Vell. ii. 23). The *sestertius* (i. e. *semistertius*) originally = $2\frac{1}{2}$ asses: but after the second Punic war it was made = 4 asses. See Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 13. *Hannibale urgente*, Q. Fabio Maximo dictatore asses unciales facti, placuitque denarium sedecim assibus permutari, *sestertium quaternis*. The weight of the *as* was gradually reduced from its original 12 ounces to 1; and the *denarius*, properly ten asses, was made = sixteen, the *sestertius* = four asses.

8. **Secessit]** On three or more occasions the plebs removed in a body from the city. See Livy, ii. 32 (A. U. 260); iii. 50 (A. U. 305); *Epit.* xi. (A. U. 466); Sallust, *Jugur.* 31, speaks of two secessions to the Aventine. They were prevailed upon to return by concessions accorded them by the patricians.

9. **Amittit]** "Parts with;" *amittere*, to let a thing be taken from one, *perdere*, to throw it away.

10. **Quonam modo]** "How we may sell our lives as dearly as possible."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. **Vellent...discedant]** Observe the change of construction. "Marcus said, If they *wished* to make any suit to the senate, *let* them lay down their arms." Comp. c. 32. *quibus rebus possent opes factionis confirment*.

2. **Ab armis discedant]** i. e. a bello, "abandon their hostile attitude."

3. **Optimo cuique]** "The most distinguished among the nobles." So the highest aristocracy were called the *optimates*.

4. **Massilium in exilium]** Comp. Cicero, *in Catil.* ii. 6. Massilia, the modern Marseilles, was founded by the Phocaeans (Thucyd. i. 13) on the south coast of Gaul, about 600 B.C., and became celebrated for its commerce and civilization. When the Romans gained a footing on the further side of the Alps, they formed an alliance with Massilia, and allowed it to retain a nominal independence and sovereignty over a small district on the coast. The Roman province being governed by proconsuls sent there by the oligarchical party, and all their influence brought to bear upon the allies of the republic, Massilia became firmly attached to the senate; and Catiline, in pretending to choose it for his place of exile, intimated that he was falsely accused of hostility to the ruling faction. Exile among the Romans was banishment to a place beyond the direct control of the commonwealth, but any allied city was allowed to receive exiles, however near it might be to Rome. Gradually all the free states were absorbed into the provinces, and there ceased to be any place of asylum for exiles within the frontiers of the empire.

5. **Non quo]** An elliptic expression for *non eo quod*.

6. **Q. Catulus]** The princeps or premier of the senate, consul A.U. 676. He was the most illustrious of the oligarchical party both in rank and reputation. Catulus was of the Lutatian, properly Luctatian, *gens*.

7. **Exemplum]** "A copy."

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. **Commendationi meae]** "To this recommendation of my interests to your care."

2. **Defensionem]** "Judicial defence;" *satisfactionem*, "private explanation."

3. **In novo consilio]** "Under the circumstances of my new design;" i.e. his repairing to the camp of Manlius, and professing to assert the claims of the injured debtors.

4. **Conscientia de culpa]** "Consciousness of guilt;" as Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 24: his de rebus conscius esse Pisonem.

5. **Me dius fidius]** i.e. *ita me Deus* (i.e. *Jovis filius* (*Hercules*) *juvet*. Some suppose there to be a *Deus Fidius*, from a passage in Plautus, *Asin.* i. 1. 8. per *Dinum Fidium* *quaeris*: but this appears to be a mock personification.

6. **Licet cognoscas]** "You may ascertain if you please."

7. **Statum dignitatis]** Cortius observes that *status* is the position a man holds, *gradus* that which he seeks, therefore proposes to substitute the latter for the former here; on the supposition that *status dignitatis* means the consulship which Catiline failed to *obtain*. It refers, however, to the position which Catiline already occupied. Translate: "I could not *maintain* the privilege of my high position, which authorized me to expect success in suing for the consulship." Comp. c. 18. Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere. *Obtinere*; most properly to hold, keep, preserve: only in a secondary sense, to acquire, obtain.

8. **Meis nominibus]** *Sumptum*, which occurs here in some MSS., is a gloss, to explain the construction: "debts contracted on my own account," "inscribed in the ledger with my name:" (*nomen* or *nomina* may be used indifferently), *alienis nom. sub. aes alienum sumptum*, "debts incurred as surety for others," "inscribed with others' names."

9. **Honore honestatos]** Comp. Plant. *Capt.* ii. 2. 106. quum me tanto honore honestas. *Honestare laude* occurs in Cicero; *honestare gloria* in the *Jugur.* c. 10.

10. **Alienatum]** "Cast out." *Alienare* significat alienos reddere et e familia ejicere. Ruhnken on Ter. *Heaut.* v. 2. 26.

11. **Hoc nomine]** "Having made this undertaking," i.e. to defend the cause of the oppressed. *Nomen*, the subscription of one's name, implying a pledge.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. **In agro Arretinò]** Arretium, mod. Arezzo, lay almost on the direct road from Rome to Faesulae. This reading is therefore preferred to *Reatino*, which most editions follow. *Reate*, in the country of the Sabines, was far to the right.

2. **Exornat]** "Furnishes:" so, *classem exornare*, "to equip a fleet."

3. **Cum fascibus]** The *fascēs*, i.e. an axe in a bundle of rods, was the ensign of the higher magistracies of the city. This was accordingly an usurpation of official rank: as Plutarch says in his life of Cicero, c. 16. Cicero in *Catil.* ii. 6. quum arma, quum secures, quum fascēs, quum tubas, quum signa militaria, quum aquilam illam argenteam scirem esse praemissam.

4. **Hostes]** "Public enemies," more properly *perduelles*. The word meant originally no more than "strangers," (comp. *hospes*). Cicero says of this change of signification, *de Off.* i. 12. *illud etiam animadverto, quod qui proprio nomine perduellis esset is hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi tristitiam rei mitigante. Hostis enim apud majores is dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicimus. Gaius, in Digest. quos nos hostes appellamus eos veteres perduelles appellabant, per eam adjectionem indicantes, cum quibus bellum erat. Perduellis then means a foreign enemy with whom there may be bellum, legitimate warfare; but the pirate non est ex perduellium numero sed communis hostis omnium. Cic. Off. iii. 29. This is a further distinction, and in this sense the outlawed conspirator might be designated hostis more correctly than perduellis. Duellum, i. q. bellum, from the same root as duo, etc., signifying "division."*

5. **Sine fraude]** i. e. *sine damno*. Comp. Liv. i. 24. quod sine fraude mea populique Rom. fiat, facio. Doederlein, *Latin. Synonym.*, connects *fraus* with ψεύδος, as *frigus* with ψῦχος, *fricare* with ψάω, *frendere* with ψινδερσθαι (i. q. κλαλειν, Hesychius), *friare* with ψλειν.

6. **Praeter...condemnatis]** The part. depends upon *liceret*, after which understand *iis*: *praeter* adverbial, i. q. *praeterquam*. Comp. Justin. xiii. 5. omnium civitatum exsules, praeter caedis damnati, restituebantur. Suet. Ner. 56. religionum contemp-tor praeter unius Deae Syriae.

7. **Delectum]** Levy of troops, not *dilectum*. The MSS. of Latin authors fluctuate in the orthography of this word. In this place, with one exception, they concur in *delectus*. But if there were such a word as *dilectus*, we should surely meet with it in the sense of *love*, as *dilectio*, in which it never occurs.

8. **Persequi maturet]** Comp. Tac. *Hist.* v. 18. si Romana classis sequi maturasset, i. e. celeriter secuta esset, *Jugur.* 36, 39.

9. **Ad occasum ab ortu]** Quintilian remarks of the proper order of words: est et naturalis ordo, ut viros ac foeminas, diem ac noctem, ortum et occasum dicas, potius quam retrorsum. *Inst. Orat.* ix. 4. 23. But the reverse order occurs sometimes, as in Lucr. and Virg. noctes atque dies: Stat. *Sylv.* iii. 3. 47. Sed quibus occasus pariter famulantur et ortus.

10. **Perditum irent]** "Sought to destroy:" implying wish and endeavour to effect an object. Comp. *Catil.* 52. *Jugur.* 31, 68, 85.

11. **Duobus senati decretis]** "Notwithstanding the existence of two decrees:" the ablat. absol. expressing a condition

or state. Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* iv. 6. nunc autem hoc tam gravi vulnere etiam illa quae consenuisse videbantur recrudescunt. *Pro Arch.* 3. hac tanta celebritate famae. Sallust, *Fr. Hist.* cetera secundis rebus oriri sueta mala.

12. Uti tabes] "Like a contagion." Some MSS. read *atque uti tabes*: "and as it were contagion."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. *Aliena*] "Estranged, hostile."

2. *Id adeo*] The force of *adeo* is here emphatic, "in fact:" being a stronger affirmation of a previous proposition. So again, *id adeo malum*, at the end of this chapter. Comp. *Jugur.* 66. eum imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum: *id adeo* mature posse evenire; and again 110, 111.

3. *Aluntur*, etc.] "They get their living without anxiety in tumults and seditions, because poverty wants little, and has nothing to lose." *Habetur*, i. q. *toleratur*.

4. *Ea vero*] A demonstration, introduced for emphasis, changes the construction. Comp. for the force of the pronoun, *Catil.* 58. in fuga salutem sperare *ea vero* dementia est. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* ii. 10. reliqua pars mundi *ea et ipsa tota natura* fervida est. See note 10 on *Catil.* 12.

5. *Praeceptis ieratis*] "Had become utterly demoralized, or reckless." Comp. *Catil.* 25. luxuria atque inopia *praeceptis* abierat. Persius, iii. 41. imus, imus *praeceptis*.

6. *Praestabant*] "Exceeded:" rarely used as here in a bad sense; but comp. Cic. *de Leg.* i. 19. qui singulis vitiis excellunt.

7. *Sentinam*] *Sentina*, a sink, cesspool, hold of a ship. So Cic. *ad Att.* i. 19, speaking of the good effects anticipated from settling some of the urban population on public domains in Italy: *et sentinam urbis exhauriri et Italiae solitudinem frequentari posse arbitratur*. Also, in *Catil.* i. 5.

8. *Ex gregariis militibus*] "Of the common soldiers."

9. *Ita divites*] Comp. *Catil.* 51. neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnes suos divitiis explevit.

10. *Regio victu atque cultu*.] "In regal luxury." The term *rex* was applied invidiously to citizens of extraordinary wealth and ostentatious manner of living. So *regum pueri*: the delicate children of the nobility. Pers. iii. 17.

11. *Manuum mercede*] "With the wages of manual labour." Comp. Virg. *Aen.* viii. 409. Cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva.

12. *Privatis atque publicis largitionibus*] i. e. distributions of corn, oil, or wine, made by rich patrons to their clients; or by candidates for office, or actual magistrates, to the people. Thus Crassus, after the defeat of Spartacus, when suing for the consulship, A. U. 683, feasted the Roman people at ten thousand tables. Public largesses had been given occasionally, and C. Gracchus introduced the sale of corn at low fixed prices to the citizens; but M. Cato first advised a regular gratuitous distribution, in the hope of withdrawing the needy citizens from the influence of the demagogues. The largess (five bushels, Sall. *Fr. Hist.*) was given monthly, Suet. *Oct.* 40.

13. *Praetulerat*] Depending upon *quae*, as *toleraverat*.

14. *Eos*] Scil. *juvenes*, understood in *juventus*: the construction is broken, *juventus* being a nomin. absolute.

15. *Juxta*] "Not more for the advantage of the one than the other, but equally ill for both." Comp. *Catil.* 61. ita cuncti suae atque hostium vitae juxta pepercerant.

16. *Jus libertatis imminutum*] "Treated as if they were neither citizens nor freemen," i. e. deprived of the privileges of the constitution. The families of the proscribed were incapacitated for holding public office by a Lex Cornelia, A. U. 673. Vell. ii. 28. exclusique paternis opibus liberi etiam petendorum honorum jure prohiberentur, simulque quod indignissimum est, senatorum filii et onera ordinis sustinerent et jura perderent. The rehabilitation of these persons was agitated for many years; defeated by Cicero in his consulship; and at last effected by Caesar as dictator. See Plutarch, *Caes.* 37 (A. U. 705); Suet. *Jul.* 75.

17. *Alliarum atque senati*] *Atque* and *ac* are used after words of comparison, e. g. *idem*, *pars*, *similis*, *alius*, *aeque*, *perinde*, *aliter*, *secus*; where the sense can only be rendered in English by "as," or "than." *Ut*, however, sometimes occurs with *atque*, as Cic. *in Verr.* i. 46. aliter atque ut edixerat; from which it may be surmised that the copula of comparison has dropped out of the idiom; and that *atque* had originally its proper sense of "immediately," "just;" e. g. *hic facit idem atque (quod) ego*, "he does just the same as I do."

18. *Id adeo malum*] Emphatic, "that evil, then;" or "that evil, great as it was:" namely, the inveterate jealousy of the commons towards the senate, dating at least from the times of the Gracchi sixty or seventy years before.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. Cn. Pompelo et M. Crasso coss.] A. U. 684.

2. *Tribunicia potestas restituta est*] Among the principal measures of Sulla for curbing the pretensions of the Marian or popular party at Rome, and securing to the senate the administration of affairs, was the restriction he placed upon the prerogative of the tribunes of the plebs. Comp. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 100. τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἴσα καὶ ἀνέλεν, ἀσθενεστάτην ἀποφύνας, καὶ νόμῳ κωλύσας μηδεμίαν ἄλλην τὸν δήμαρχον ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἀρχειν. Liv. *Epit.* lxxxix. tribunorum plebis potestatem minuit et omne jus ferendarum legum ademit. The ancient right of *intercessio*, or a veto on motions in the senate, still remained to them. At the same time Sulla confined the comitia of the tribes to the election of the inferior magistrates, forbidding it to enact laws or receive criminal appeals. All these prerogatives were restored by a *Lex Pompeia*, in the year above mentioned. Vell. ii. 30. Pompeius tribuniciam potestatem restituit, cujus Sulla imaginem sine re reliquerat.

3. *Adolescentes*] Properly *adolescentia* extended from 15 to 30 years of age. But the term was frequently applied to persons of more advanced age. Thus Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 46, calls himself an *adolescens* in the time of his consulship, when he was 44 years of age. Sallust, speaking of Caesar in his thirty-seventh year, calls him *adolescentulus*, *Catil.* 49. In this place *homines adolescentes* may be rendered "rising men;" that is, men who were beginning to become important political characters.

4. *Summam potestatem*] Meaning the tribunate, which since the *lex Pompeia* had become the most influential office in the state.

5. *Senati specie*] "Under pretence of supporting the authority of the senate," but really to maintain their own ascendancy. Comp. Lucan, ix. 206. non jam regnare pudebit, Nec color imperii, nec frons erit ulla senatus: "henceforth men will act the king without scruple, there will be no colour of legitimate command, nor pretence of senatorial authority."

6. *Sicuti*] "As though." Comp. *Catil.* 31. sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret.

7. *Potentia*] Power, without respect to its legality, and generally in opposition to legitimate authority, *potestas*. Comp. *Catil.* 39. paucorum potentia crevit. Lucan, iv. *in fin.*:

Jus licet in jugulos nostros sibi fecerat ense
Sylla potens, Mariusque ferox, et Cinna eruentus,
Caesareaque domus series, cui tanta potestas
Concessa est; emere omnes, hic vendidit urbem.

8. *Neque modestia, neque modus*] Comp. note c. 11.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. *Ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum*] The "maritime war" was that against the Cilician pirates, who infested the whole of the Mediterranean, and often made descents on land, even in Italy. Gabinius, a creature of Pompey, proposed a law for conferring upon him extraordinary command for their suppression, A. U. 687. The speed and efficiency with which Pompey put down these marauders was deservedly celebrated. See Cic. *pro leg. Manil.* 12, Plutarch, *Pomp.* 24, and the historians Appian, Florus, and Velleius Paterculus.

The "Mithridatic war" was the long contest waged by the republic against Mithridates, the renowned king of Pontus. Sulla had defeated, and was supposed to have crushed him; but he rose again, and wrested the province of Asia from the Romans. Lucullus again defeated him, but he was still unconquered; and at last, at the motion of Manilius, the Roman people appointed Pompey to carry on the war against him, with full powers throughout the eastern possessions of the republic. This extraordinary commission was regarded by the senate with great jealousy. It was apprehended that Pompey would never consent to return to Rome as a private man. Nevertheless, after the successful completion of his task, and the addition of extensive provinces to the empire, he disbanded his legions, and was content to be the first citizen in the free state. But he afterwards repented, and tried, by a league with Caesar and Crassus, (the first triumvirate,) to acquire a more decided supremacy in the commonwealth. The Manilian law was carried A. U. 688.

2. *Plebis opes imminutae*] "The power of the commons was curtailed." During Pompey's absence the nobles strove to recover their ascendancy, which he had considerably reduced in his consulship, A. U. 684.

3. *Innoxii*] Passive, "secure from attack." Comp. Lucan, ix. 891:

Gens unica terras
Incolit a saevo serpentum innoxia morsu.

Columella, v. 9. *innoxius ab injuria pecorum.*

4. *Ceteros*] Comp. c. 51: *juxta bonos et malos lubricose interficere, ceteros metu terrere.*

5. *Quo plebem etc.*] There is great confusion in this passage. Understand *hi*, the nobility, both patrician and plebeian; *ipsi*, such of them as actually occupied the public

offices at any time; *ceteri*, the rest of them, who were at the same time not in office, such as the defeated candidates; but more especially the *tribuncs of the people*, who are said to be *in magistratu*, incorrectly, because the tribunate was not strictly a magistracy, but who frequently used their power, as such, to harass the real magistrates, the consuls and praetors. Disappointed candidates, especially if they were tribunes, excited the people against their rulers; but by an unscrupulous use of the *judicia* the magistrates, secure themselves, terrified them into moderation. *Placidius tractarent*, "keep them quiet," as opposed to *accidentent* or *exagitant*. But this sense is questionable. *Placidius tractarent* should rather mean, "treat with kindness;" and Kritz's emendation, *qui for quo*, seems preferable.

6. *Dubiis rebus*] "At a period of public peril." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* i. 31. *cetera cohors, ut turbidis rebus evenit, parat signa.* Ann. ii. 62. *Catualda, dubiis rebus ejus, ultionem ausus.* So *rebus perditis, rebus secundis*, etc. The reading *novandi* is supported by some MSS., while *novandis*, which is commonly adopted, is bad both in sense and grammar.

7. *Eorum*] Scil. *plebis*.

8. *Exsanguibus*] i. e. *invalidis*. Comp. Cic. *pro Sest.* 10. *hominibus enervatis atque exsanguibus.*

9. *A. Fulvius*] Comp. Val. Max. v. 8. 5, who makes this the name of the father. The father, by the old Roman law, had power of life and death over his child up to any age. Instances are given of parents calling their relations together and sitting in judgment on their sons for public crimes. But this right had become obsolete, and its exercise would not have been endured in this case, but for the prejudice of the government against Catiline and his abettors.

10. *Quod modo bello usui foret*] "As long as they could be of any service, at least for fighting, if for nothing else."

CHAPTER XL.

1. *Legatos Allobrogum*] The Allobroges, a tribe between the Rhone and Isère, had sent envoys to Rome to complain of the exactions of the provincial government, and to sue for a remission of their public debts. They had been with difficulty conquered, and had more than once revolted. Cicero says of them, *in Catil.* iii. 6. *quam gentem unam restare* (of all the southern Gauls) *quae populo Romano bellum facere et posse, et non nolle videretur.* Comp. Caes. *B. G.* i. 6. Q. Fabius

Maximus obtained the surname *Allobrogicus* for his victory over them as far back as A. U. 634. Juvenal, viii. 13:

Cur Allobrogicis et magna gaudeat ara
Natus in Hereuleo Fabius Iare.

2. *Negotiatus erat*] "Was established in trade," and had therefore *resided* among them. The *negotiator* was a Roman citizen settled as a trader in the provinces and generally a money-lender.

3. *Videt*] i. q. *cognoscit, accipit, audit*. Comp. Liv. xxxiv. 31. *nunc tyrannum me vocari video*. Cic. *pro Arch.* 8. *quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi magnum numerum optimorum versuum dicere ex tempore*.

4. *Tanta ista mala*] Comp. c. 48. *tantam illam contumeliam*.

5. *In domum D. Bruti*] Cicero says, ad Gabinium legatos esse perductos; but this does not mean "to the house of Gabinus," but "to meet him," as Sallust also says afterwards.

6. *Neque aliena consilii*] i. e. *opportuna consilio*, "convenient for the meetings of the conspirators." For the construction comp. Cic. *de Fin.* i. 4. *quis alienum putet ejus esse dignitatis*.

7. *Cujusque generis*] "Persons of every class."

8. *Innoxios*] "Innocent of the conspiracy."

CHAPTER XLI.

1. *Studium belli*] "Their national disposition for war." Comp. Lucan, vii. 694:

Non jam Pompeii nomen populare per orbem,
Nec studium belli, sed par quod semper habemus
Libertas et Caesar erunt.

2. *Majores opes*] "Ampler resources;" i. e. the whole strength of the republic, as compared with the forces on which the conspirators relied.

3. *Tuta consilia*] "A secure course:" taking the side of the government they risked nothing.

4. *Q. Fabio Sangae, cujus patrocínio, etc.*] Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 11. *tantopere apud nostros justitia culta est, ut ii qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, earum patroni essent more majorum*. Hence we may infer that this Fabius inherited the office of *patronus* from the conqueror Fabius Allobrogicus.

5. **Praecipit ut]** The perf. is found in the majority of MSS.: the change of tense is much in the author's manner. Comp. *Jugur.* 28. his praecipit omnes mortales pecunia aggreantur. 111. regi patefecit quod polliceatur. The conjunction is found in all the MSS. but two.

6. **Manifestos]** *Manifestus* from *manus* and *fendo*, as *infestus* from *in* and *fendo*; properly, "what can be taken in the hand;" hence, "caught in the fact." So *manifestus rerum capitalium*, below, c. 52.

CHAPTER XLII.

1. **Gallia]** At this time the republic possessed two provinces named Gaul: the "hither," *citerior*, south of the Alps, bounded by the rivers Rubicon and Aesar, and the "further," *ulterior*, north of the Alps, extending to the Rhone and the Cevennes. The hither province was divided into Cispadane and Transpadane, with reference to the river Po (Padus) which intersected it.

2. **Bruttio]** The western peninsular extremity of Italy was called Bruttium: here the word is an adjective, agreeing with *agro*. So, *Bruttia saxa*, *Pers.* vi. 27.

3. **Cuncta simul]** "Everything at once," as madmen might do.

4. **Consiliis]** "Meetings for deliberation:" *concilia* has generally a bad sense, "clandestine meetings," which is not required here.

5. **Causa cognita]** "After examination."

6. **Ulteriore G.]** This emendation for *Citeriore* is rendered necessary by the statement of Cicero that Murena was in the transalpine province. *Cic. pro Mur.* 41. Metellus Celer was in the cisalpine or hither province. See *Cic. in Catil.* ii. 12, and above, c. 30.

7. **Legatus]** A lieutenant of the imperator, or governor of a province. Sometimes the governor being himself absent deputed his charge to a *legatus*. But in this case the *legatus* was sent by the senate itself, and no proconsul appointed. Comp. *Cic. de Prov. Cons.* 3. atque hanc Macedoniam...etiam sine imperio per legatos tuebimur.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. **Ut videbantur magnis]** "Such as appeared to be considerable." The impersonal form *videbatur*, is more usual. But comp. *Cic. ad Div.* xvi. 4. teque, ut mihi visus est, diligit, instead of, visum est.

2. **Constituerant]** The plur. supported by many of the best MSS. is referred irregularly to *Lentulus cum ceteris*, as though it were *Lentulus ceterique*. Comp. *Jugur.* 101. Bocchus cum peditibus...invadunt. Liv. xxi. 60. ipse dux cum principibus capiuntur.

3. **De actionibus Ciceronis]** "Of the actions, i. e. conduct of Cicero." *Actiones* in the plur. is rare in this sense. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* ii. 1. actiones suas scriptis mandare. It is generally used technically of legal proceedings. It was the policy of the conspirators to pretend that Cicero had got up a false rumour of a plot in order to drive innocent men away from the city. Comp. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 3. Λεύκιον δὲ Βηστίαν τὸν δῆμαρχον ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγειν, καὶ κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὡς αἰεὶ δειλοῦ καὶ πολεμοποιοῦ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ διαταράσσοντος.

4. **Optimo consuli]** It seems that M. Brutus in writing an account of these transactions used this same expression, *optimus consul*, with reference to Cicero's part in them. Cicero in a letter to Atticus, xii. 21, complains of the account as calculated to exalt Cato's conduct in comparison with his own, and refers to this phrase as disparaging. Hic autem se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripserit optimum consulem. It is probable, from the character of his mind, that Brutus was very cold and measured in his laudation of the consul, and in his mouth the word *optimus* might have a formal and pedantic sound. But I do not think Sallust meant anything depreciatory. *Optimus* was itself a hearty and genial word, and occurs in the most complimentary descriptions. Juvenal, x. 331. *optimus hic et formosissimus idem Gentis patriciae*. Cicero himself uses it of Pansa; *consul fortissimus atque optimus*. *Philipp.* vii. 2,

5. **Eo signo proxima nocte]** "The night after that signal should be given." There is no need to insert *dato*, as in some MSS. and edit. Plutarch says that the night fixed was one of the Saturnalia, which commenced with the 17th of December. The tribunes were to enter upon their office the 10th of that month. But Cicero's vigilance anticipated this design. He got the conspirators executed December 5.

6. **Cetera multitudo coniurationis]** "All the rest of the conspirators." *Exsequeretur* in the sing. (the reading of the MSS.) refers to *quisque*, not to *multitudo*. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 41. *et vero etiam poetae suum quisque opus a vulgo considerari vult*.

7. **Duodecim simul]** Plutarch doubtless exaggerates when he says that the conspirators assigned a hundred different places to be fired at the same time.

8. **Fili familiarum]** Catilina's adherents were mostly young men. Cicero calls them, *libidiosa et delicata juvenus* (*ad Att.* i. 19); *sanguinaria juvenus* (*ad Att.* ii. 7). Comp. *in Catil.* ii. 3. *hos quos volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura.* Of the proscriptions of the second triumvirate Velleius remarks: *Id tamen notandum, fuisse in proscriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam, servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam.* ii. 67. Appian, however, affirms that many Roman matrons helped Catiline with money in the hope that he would exterminate their husbands. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 2.

9. **Dies prolatando]** "By putting off the days fixed for the enterprise." Tac. *Ann.* vi. 42. *diem ex die prolatare.* *Prolatere*, an intensive form, from *proferre, prolatum.*

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. **Ceteros conveniunt]** "Have an interview with the others."

2. **Postulant jusjurandum]** "Demand a written form of oath."

3. **Signatum]** "With the seals of the parties affixed."

4. **Aliter]** i. q. *alioquin*, "unless they did so."

5. **Crotoniensem]** "A citizen of Crotona," in Bruttium.

6. **Quis sim]** Some MSS. read *qui sim.* *Quis sim*, means, "who I am;" *qui sim*, "what sort of person I am." So Cic. *in Caec. Div.* 12. *qui sis et quid facere possis, considera.* Liv. i. 41. *qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa.*

7. **Etiam ab infimis]** This was a covert suggestion to arm slaves, which was too atrocious a design to be committed to writing, though recommended, as we see immediately afterwards, orally. Comp. the same letter recited, with some variation, by Cicero, *in Catil.* iii. 5. Probably neither author cared to quote with perfect accuracy. No reliance whatever can be placed on Sallust saying just above, *quarum exemplum infra scriptum.*

8. **Quo consilio servitia repudiet?]** "What would be the sense of rejecting the employment of slaves?"

CHAPTER XLV.

1. **L. Valerio Flacco]** The same whom Cicero defended upon a charge of malversation in the province of Asia.

2. **C. Pomptinius]** Or *Pomtinus*. His family were probably of *Suessa Pometia*, in *Latium*, whence the *paludes Pomptinae* derived their name. This Pomptinius succeeded *Murena* in *Transalpine Gaul*, and effected the final pacification of the *Allobroges*, over whom he triumphed, *A. U.* 700, for his victory, *A. U.* 693.

3. **In ponte Mulvio]** The *Mulvian*, or *Milvian* bridge (perhaps, from *M. Aemilius Scaurus*, who is said to have built it), crossed the *Tiber* on the *Flaminian way*, two miles north of *Rome*. The great battle between *Constantine* and *Maxentius*, *A. D.* 312, took its name from this bridge. It is now called *Ponte Molle*: some part of the structure is supposed to be original. A bridge would be a convenient spot for intercepting travellers. At such a point it was more difficult to escape. Being narrow, and generally with a considerable elevation, carriages would slacken their pace at them. Beggars and loiters infested them, and waylayers might keep a look out from them without exciting suspicion.

4. **Homines militares]** "Being men of military science."

5. **Praesidiis collocatis]** Comp. Cicero's description in *Catil.* iii. 2. *illi...cum advesperasceret occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset, etc.*

6. **Pontem obsidunt]** "Occupy the bridge." *Obsident*, the reading of some MSS. and Edd. would mean, "besiege," "beleaguer."

7. **Utrimque]** "On either side of the bridge;" the ambush being laid, as Cicero describes, on both sides.

8. **Cito cognito consilio]** "quickly apprehending the device."

9. **Multa...obtestatus]** "Urging Pomptinius with many arguments."

10. **Dedit]** Probably the pres. from *dedo*, "gives himself up:" *dedo* implies more entire submission than the simple *do*. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 21. *qui excellenti ingenio doctrinae se dediderunt.*

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. **Sibi oneri, etc.]** "Would bring a burden of odium upon himself."

2. **Perdendae reipublicae, etc.]** "Would conduce to the destruction of the commonwealth."

3. *Tarracinensem*] "Of Tarracina," or Anxur on the coast of Latium, now Terracina.

4. *Manu tenens*] "Leading by the hand;" as a mark of honour.

5. *In aedem Concordiae*] The foundations of this temple are still visible at the foot of the Capitoline hill, facing the forum. It was built by Camillus, and commemorated the restoration of concord between the senate and people. Plutarch, *Camill.* 42. It was reconstructed by Tiberius and his mother Livia A. U. 765, perhaps after some intermediate restoration or repair by L. Opimius, cons. A. U. 633. Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17. The first and last of these occasions are mentioned by Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 644.

Furius antiquum, populi superator Etrusci,
Voverat, et voti solverat ante fidem.
Causa quod a patribus sumptis secesserat armis
Vulgus, et ipsa suas Roma timebat opes.
Causa recens melior: passos Germania crines
Porrigit auspiciis, dux venerande, tuis.

6. *Magna frequentia*] "At a full meeting." The senate at this time amounted nominally to six hundred members; but the vacancies caused by death had not been regularly supplied by the censors. Four hundred and fifteen members divided at a full meeting. Cic. *ad Att.* i. 14. Comp. Cic. *post Red. in Sen.* 10. Allowance must be made for the number of senators engaged in the provincial administration. When Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 8, praises his own speeches, in hac cella Concordiae, he refers to the temple itself, not to an inner shrine, which could not have held any such meeting.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. *Alia*] "Other than the truth;" so the phrase, *in alia omnia abire*, "to run off to matters others than those in hand, not pertinent to the affair."

2. *Fide publica*] (*Scil. data*) "on the public faith being pledged for his safety." Comp. *Catil.* 48. *se indicaturum si fides publica data esset.* *Jugur.* 32, 35.

3. *Nihil amplius scire quam legatos*] "That he knew no more of the secrets of the plot than the Allobroges," who as foreigners could not be supposed intimate with its secret objects and ramifications: in short, he professed to be an instrument of the conspirators, but not an associate. He had only heard the names of a few individuals among them. Kritz explains it otherwise; *se praeterquam quod legatos sciat conjurationis participes esse nullam plane ex conjuratis nosse:* and adds, *nihil de personis dictum non insolens est.*

4. **Ex libris Sibyllinis]** Certain volumes so called, containing predictions regarding the destinies of the republic, were kept in custody of special officers called Quindecimvirs, and formed an important engine of state. Many other vaticinations, pretending to the authority of the Sibyls, were current among the citizens, and it is to some of these probably that Lentulus referred. The emperor Augustus found these impostures such a nuisance to the government that he caused a pretended authentic compilation to be made, and gave all the rest he could collect to the flames.

5. **Cinnam]** L. Cornelius Cinna, a leader of the popular party during the absence of Sulla in the east (A. U. 666—669). He was consul A. U. 667, when he impeached Sulla, and recalled Marius from exile. Being driven out of Rome by his colleague Octavius, he returned with a military force, took the city, and exacted a proscription of the aristocratic party. He was eventually killed in a mutiny of his own soldiers whom he was leading against Sulla.

6. **Ab incenso Capitolio]** i. e. from the year 671, when the Capitol was destroyed in the wars of Marius and Sulla. It was again burnt in the contest of the Vitellian and Flavian soldiers, A. D. 70, and once more by accident in the reign of Domitian. Lactantius says that, up to his time, in the fourth century, it had been frequently destroyed by lightning, iii. 17.

7. **Cognovissent]** "Recognised:" the proper word in such cases. Comp. Cic. *in Catil.* iii. 5. Statilius cognovit signum et manum suam.

8. **In liberis custodiis]** "In free custody." Persons of distinction were often placed under the care of the magistrates in their houses, instead of being consigned to the prison. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 3. Gallio retrahitur in urbem custoditurque domibus magistratum. Cic. *Brut.* 96. quoniam eloquentiæ quasi tutores relictis sumus, domi teneamus eam septam liberali custodia.

9. **P. Lentulo Spintheri]** Consul A. U. 697. *Spinther* means, a bracelet. Gr. *σφιγκτήρ*. Lentulus is said to have derived his surname from his similarity to a certain actor of the day so called.

10. **Q. Cornificio]** A colleague of Cicero's in the augurship. Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 17.

11. **C. Caesari]** Caius Julius Caesar.

12. **Gabinus]** This obscure personage is not to be confounded with Aulus Gabinus, an adherent of Pompey, in whose interest he proposed the *Lex Gabinia*, for giving him

the conduct of the war against the pirates, and *imperium* throughout all the coasts of the Mediterranean and fifty miles inland, A. U. 688.

13. **M. Crasso]** M. Licinius Crassus the triumvir.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. **Conjuratone patefacta]** The affair was revealed to the people by Cicero in a speech (his third Catilinarian oration) which he delivered in the forum on the 3rd of December (= Feb. 5. B. C. 62), after the examination of the Allobroges before the senate. Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 1. quo die Allobroges involgarunt.

2. **Gaudium atque laetitiam]** The second is a stronger word than the first. Comp. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 6. quum ratione animus movetur placide atque constanter, tum illud gaudium dicitur; quum autem inaniter et effuse animus exsultat, tum illa laetitia gestiens vel nimia dici potest. The grammarian Nonius says: gaudium in sapiente et in rebus bonis semper est, laetitia etiam in malis esse potest. But such delicate distinctions are not much observed. Comp. c. 61. *in fin.*

3. **Quippe cui, etc.]** The lower orders contemplated the plunder of the city with little alarm, inasmuch as they had no possessions but what they carried in their hands or wore on their backs: their tools and clothes.

4. **Ne eum Lentulus...deprehensi terrerent]** "Not to be alarmed at the arrest of Lentulus," &c.

5. **Obnoxii]** "Under private obligations to Crassus:" persons whom he had assisted with loans.

6. **Uti referatur]** Scil. *ad senatum.* They insisted that the question of Crassus's complicity should be referred to a vote of the senate, that is, to their own decision, and not left to be dealt with by the consuls.

7. **Potestatem]** "Leave to make disclosures."

8. **Appellato]** *Appellare a nominare ita diversum est, ut hoc sit aliquem per nomen quod ejus proprium est, designare; illud, proprie aliquem voce compellare.* Dietsch.

9. **Immissum]** "Instigated;" i. e. sent against a person with a bad purpose; used of informers, false witnesses, hired assassins, &c.

10. **More suo]** Connect with *susc. mal. patr.* Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 30, for the artifice of Crassus in pleading for

profligate characters: alii qui quidvis perpetiantur, cuius deserviant, dum quod velint consequantur, ut Sullam et M. Crassum videbamus. See also Cic. *Parad.* 6. Comp. for a more favourable representation of Crassus's proceedings, Plutarch, *Crass.* 3.

11. **Praedicantem]** "Openly affirming." Comp. *Jugur.* 14: uti praedicantem audiveram patrem meum.

12. **Contumeliam...impositam]** "Insult cast upon him." So *imponere injurias, labem, pudorem, &c.*

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. **C. Piso]** C. Calpurnius Piso, consul 687, proconsul of the further Gaul 688; defended by Cicero when accused of extortion in his province. He is to be distinguished from L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, consul A. U. 696, and father-in-law of Caesar, a great enemy of Cicero. Also from M. Pupius Piso, and Cn. Calpurnius Piso, contemporary nobles. See above, note on ch. 18.

2. **Neque precibus, etc.]** "Neither by entreaty, nor by the offer of political favour and support, nor by direct bribery." The *gratia* or "support" of the Optimates was of the utmost consequence to Cicero at this juncture, as was afterwards shown when they declined the task of defending his action against the Catilinarians. Comp. *Jugur.* 13. ut ex maxima invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret.

3. **Falso]** Sallust affirms on his own authority that Caesar was not concerned in the conspiracy, while he insinuates the guilt of Crassus. It is probable that both were equally aware of the machinations in progress, and disposed to regard with satisfaction a movement which would harass, if not overthrow, the government of the oligarchy. But it is not likely that either of them was directly implicated. Caesar was named as an accomplice the following year by L. Vettius, a man of bad character, whose accusation would have been treated with contempt, but that, being thrown into prison on another account about the same time, he was found dead in his bed, which gave occasion to odious suspicions.

4. **Transpadani]** An inhabitant of the part of the Cisalpine province beyond the Po. Caesar was patron of this people, and as such had impeached Piso.

5. **Ex petitione pontificatus]** Catulus had offered himself as a candidate for the high-priesthood in the year 691, but was opposed, much to his mortification, by Caesar, then compara-

tively young and little known. He offered contemptuously to buy off Caesar's competition by assisting to pay his debts; but Caesar refused, and declared that he would plunge still more deeply in debt, if necessary, to gain the election: *πλείω προσδανεισάμενος ἔφη διαγωνιείσθαι*. Plutarch, *in Caes.* 7. The people, who had the appointment, elected their favourite.

6. **Adolescentulo]** Caesar at this time was 37: see note on ch. 38.

7. **Res autem opportuna videbatur]** "The charge seemed well timed," i. e. likely from the circumstances of the case to obtain credit.

8. **Privatim egregia liberalitate publice maximis muneribus]** Comp. *Catil.* 54. Caesar, beneficiis atque munificentia magnus habebatur...mansuetudine et misericordia...dando, sublevando, ignoscendo...miseris perfugium...facilitas: in all which respects he is contrasted with Cato. Caesar's public munificence had been displayed in the shows of his aedileship.

9. **Grandem pecuniam debebat]** Caesar is said by Plutarch to have owed thirteen hundred talents (=£251,875) before he obtained any public employment. When he was about to enter upon his praetorship in Spain, A. U. 693, he is reported to have said that he wanted one hundred million of sesterces (=£807,291) to be "worth nothing." Crassus on this occasion lent him the sum necessary to defray his outfit, and satisfy his most pressing creditors. But money was at all times freely lent him by the wealthy men of his party, who expected to be amply repaid on his advancement to the highest offices.

10. **Impellere nequeunt]** Caesar engaged Cicero to come forward and declare that he had been actually the first to reveal the existence of the plot to him; and the senate decreed that the reward assigned to Curius should be taken from him, and handed over to the prior informant. Suet. *Jul.* 17.

11. **Ementiendo]** "By falsely proclaiming." *Ementiri* is to utter falsehoods audaciously and openly. Comp. Liv. i. 8; ix. 18; xxv. 3.

12. **Invidiam conflaverant]** "Had raised a prejudice or hostile spirit." See note on ch. 14.

13. **Nobilitate]** Rather read *mobilitate*, which is supported by several MSS.

14. **Clarius esset]** This refers to the clause following: "they brandished their swords to display their zeal more conspicuously." For the circumstance comp. Plutarch, *Caes.* 8, who affirms that these knights looked to Cicero for a signal to

massacre Caesar, which he withheld. He wonders, indeed, why, if this were true, Cicero did not mention it in the history of his consulship. This outrage, however, caused great indignation among the people, who on a subsequent occasion, when Caesar defended himself in the senate, and was ill received there, surrounded the curia with loud outcries, and insisted on his being dismissed in safety.

CHAPTER L.

1. **Liberti**] “The freedmen of Lentulus:” *liberti* used in relation to their masters, *libertini* in relation to free-born citizens, i. e. *ingenui*.

2. **Duces multitudinum**] “The leaders of mobs.” At this period public affairs were often interrupted by mob violence, and some party chiefs hired the known leaders of the rabble to engage their followers to excite disturbances.

3. **Familiam**] “His domestic slaves.”

4. **Dispositis praesidiis**] Cicero speaks contemptuously of the failure of these attempts at exciting a commotion (*in Catil.* iv. 8). Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 5, says that a tumult was created, but easily put down by the consul’s precautions.

5. **Convocato senatu**] This meeting took place Dec. 5 = Feb. 7, B. C. 62.

6. **Contra rempublicam fecisse**] Upon the occasion of Cicero’s second Catilinarian oration (Nov. 9), the senate had declared Catilina and Manlius public enemies. See above, *Catil.* 36. The other conspirators, on being convicted of correspondence with them, fell under the same sentence.

7. **D. Junius Silanus**] He succeeded to the consulship in the following year, with Murena. He was married to Cato’s half sister, Servilia. The *consul designatus*, elected but not yet entered upon his office, was usually asked his opinion first by the actual consul. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 22. Tiberius exemit Drusum, consulem designatum, dicendae primo loco sententiae. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 5.

8. **Supplicium**] “Capital punishment.” Appian, ii. 5. τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐσχάτη κολάσει μετένειαι.

9. **Pedibus...iturum**] “He would take his station by the side of Tib. Nero,” i. e. divide with him. The phrase expresses implicitness of assent. Some verbo assentiebantur (see c. 52) or gave their own opinions in favour of a motion, others simply followed their leader on a division.

10. **Referendum censuerat]** He had proposed that the question of punishment should stand over for the present, probably till the issue of the contest with Catilina; the culprits being kept in custody during the interval: *praesidiis additis*, "guards placed over them."

11. **Ubi ad eum ventum]** There was much irregularity in the order in which opinions were demanded in the senate. The consul (or praetor in his absence) who summoned the meeting, called upon all the members separately to declare their sentiments, which they did either in a speech, or by merely assenting to the opinion of some preceding speaker; in which case they rose from their place, and went over to him. At the conclusion of the debate, the groups thus assembled were counted. *Comp. Plin. Ep. viii. 14. 19. lex apertè jubet dirimi debere sententias occidentis et relegantis, cum ita discessionem fieri jubet; qui hacc sentitis in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite, qua sentitis...i. e. in eam in qua sedet qui censuit relegandos.* The consul usually called first upon one of the consuls designate, next upon the consulars, the praetors, and other high magistrates. But he was not bound to any particular order; and in the present case we find Catulus, a consular, speaking after Caesar, who was praetor-designate. But whatever order the consul assigned at the commencement of his term of office, he was expected to maintain throughout. Caesar's violating this usage, in his own consulship, was remarked upon. See *Suet. Jul. 21. post novam affinitatem, Pompeium primum rogare sententiam coepit, cum Crassum soleret; essetque consuetudo, ut quem ordinem interrogandi sententias consul kalendis Januariis instituisset, cum toto anno conservaret.* On this occasion it seems that Crassus was not present, otherwise Sallust, or Cicero himself, would undoubtedly have recorded his opinion. He was indignant, perhaps, at the suspicion of complicity cast upon him. Many of the senators abstained from attending, from various motives. *Comp. Cic. in Catil. iv. 5; ad Att. xii. 21.*

CHAPTER LI.

1. **Omnes homines]** The beginning of the speech is supposed to be imitated from Demosthenes, (*περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερσονησῶν πραγμάτων*) *ἔδει μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς λέγοντας ἅπαντας ἐν ὑμῖν μῆτε πρὸς ἕχθραν ποιείσθαι λόγον μηδένα, μῆτε πρὸς χάριν.*

2. **Usui]** i. e. *utilitati.* *Comp. Cic. pro Leg. Manil. 20. majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse. Comp. Nepos, Alcib. 4. plus irae suae quam utilitati communi paruisse.*

3. Valet] *Scil. animus.*

4. Recte atque ordine] A familiar idiom. *Comp. Liv. xxiv. 31; xxviii. 39; xxx. 17.*

5. Bello Macedonico] Perses, or Perseus, the last of the kings of Macedonia, was subdued by L. Aemilius Paullus at the battle of Pydna, A. U. 586, B. C. 168. Perses is the form of the name adopted by Cicero and Sallust, Perseus by Livy, Pliny, Justin, and Eutropius.

6. Rhodiorum civitas] The state of Rhodes became famous as the greatest maritime power of the eastern Mediterranean, after the fall of Athens in the fourth century B. C. It had proved itself a faithful ally of the Romans in the war with Antiochus, king of Syria (B. C. 190), and had received from them the countries of Lycia and Caria. In the Macedonian war it inclined to the other side, or, at least, trimmed between the two. *Comp. Vell. i. 9. dubia fide speculati fortunam pro-niores regis partibus fuisse visi sunt.*

7. Impunitos] The Romans did not turn their arms upon them, and overthrow their commonwealth: they contented themselves with taking from them their possessions in Lycia and Caria. See *Liv. xlv. 25. Comp. also A. Gellius, vii. 3.*

8. Per inducias] "In time of truce."

9. Per occasionem] "When opportunity offered."

10. Talia fecere] "Did the like," "retaliated."

11. In illis] "In their case." *Comp. Catil. 9. in amicis fideles; and examples there given.*

12. Hoc idem] "This, which is a similar case to the foregoing."

13. Novum consilium] "A new course of proceeding," unusual, novel; i. e. the proposition of Silanus for inflicting death on the conspirators, which the senate had no right to do. No Roman citizen could, in strict law, be condemned to death, except by a vote of the people. On the other hand, the senate by the appointment of a dictator, or by investing the consuls with summary powers, by a *senatus-consultum ultimum*, i. e. *caveant consules ne respublica aliquid detrimenti capiat*, claimed the right of suspending the ordinary operation of the laws. The people always regarded these stretches of prerogative as illegal encroachments, and in the sequel declared, at the instigation of the tribune Clodius, that Cicero had committed a judicial murder in executing the conspirators by virtue of a decree of the senate.

14. *Omnium ingenia exsuperat*] “Transcends the imaginations of all.”

15. *Composite*] “In studied and elaborate orations.” So *composito*: Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 129. *Composito rumpit vocem et me destinat arae.*

16. *Magnifice*] “In glowing colours;” expressive of some enhancement of the subject. Comp. Liv. xxi. 41. *non vereor ne quis me hoc vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse.* Sallust may have had in his mind the highly wrought description of the licence of war in Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 591:

καὶ οἱ κατέλεξεν ἅπαντα
κῆδε', ὅσ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστυ ἀλώη,
ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,
τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας·
τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἀκούοντος κακὰ ἔργα.

17. *Sed alia aliis licentia est*] Scil. *irascendi*, or *iracundia delinquendi*, “some men have more licence to give way to anger than others.”

18. *Eos mores, eam modestiam*] Comp. *Catil.* 7. *eas divitias, eam bonam famam putabant.* Tac. *Hist.* iv. 42. *ea principis aetas, ea moderatio.* In such cases *hic* is more usual than *is*. *Jugur.* 85. *hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas.* Lucan, ii. 380. *hi mores, haec duri immota Catonis Secta fuit.* Virg. *Aen.* vi. 129. *Hoc opus hic labor est.*

19. *Aut metus, aut injuria*] “You were impelled to propose capital punishment, either by excessive alarm (which there was no occasion for), or by a sense of the atrocity of the crime (in respect to which even capital punishment is quite inadequate.)” *Novum poenae genus, is per euphemismum for death*, which the Romans never named if they could avoid it. Hence the phrases *supplicium* for “capital punishment,” *in hostium numero habere*, for “to put to the sword.”

20. *Possumus equidem dicere*] “We may surely say.” The common opinion, adopted among the Romans themselves, that *equidem* is a contraction of *ego quidem*, is refuted by the grammarian Priscian. *Sciendum tamen quod quidam equidem conjunctionem compositam esse existimant ab ego et quidem; sed errant.* Simplex enim est. Et hoc maxime ex ipsa constructione orationis possumus intelligere. Nam *equidem facio, equidem facis, equidem facit* dicimus. He goes on to prove the same from the combination of *ego* and *equidem*, citing from this chapter of the *Catilina*, *Equidem ego sic existimo.* Bentley maintained, however, that the use of *equidem* was confined at least to the first person singular down to the time of Nero: but

this may be shewn to be erroneous from various passages in Plautus and Terence. *Equidem* then is best explained as a stronger form of *quidem*, the *e* being an intensive particle, as in *edurus*, *egclidus*, or *enim, ecastor*. (Handii *Tursellinus*, ii. 423.) If we consider the *e* to be a long syllable, *equidem* must be scanned *ēqu'em*, as we find the *d* of *quidem, modo, idem*, &c. frequently dropped by Plautus and Terence. (Donaldson's *Varronianus*, p. 280, 1 ed. See Bentley on Ter. *Andr.* i. 3. 20.) Accordingly read in Pers. i. 10. per me equ'em sint omnia protinus alba; or per me qu'em. Lucan, viii. 824. Haud equ'em immerito.....Cautum; Virg. *Geor.* i. 415. Haud equ'em, credo, quia sit divinitus illis. But it is not likely that this vulgar contraction would be admitted in heroic poetry; and it is better to consider the *e* short, as in *enim*. The various constructions in which *equidem* occurs may be seen in the following instances taken from good and early authors:

Sallust, *Catil.* 52.

Equidem nos amisimus.

Varro, *de R. R.* i. 5.

Equidem innumerabiles mihi videntur.

Cic. *Tusc.* v. 35.

Vestrae equidem coenae jucundae sunt.

Virgil, *Aen.* x. 29.

Equidem, credo, mea vulnera restant.

Plaut. *Epid.* iv. 2. 33.

Adolescentem equidem dicebant emissae.

——— *Pers.* 2. 3.

Equidem si scis.

Trent. *Eunuch.* v. 4. 34.

Atque equidem orante ut ne il faeret Thaide.

Lucret. iii. 1091.

Certe equidem finis vitae mortalibus instat.

Sallust, *Catil.* 53.

Scitis equidem milites.

——— *Jugur.* 10.

Equidem ego vobis regnum trado.

21. **Ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse]** A remarkable avowal of materialism in the Chief Pontiff of the national religion. That such an avowal was really made appears from Cicero's reference to it in *Catil.* iv. 4, alter intelligit mortem a Dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa

constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem esse. Cicero himself only ventures, in opposition to this opinion, to allude to the belief of the ancients as a convenient check to crime: itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quaedam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt.

22. **Lex Porcia]** The Porcian law, proposed by P. Porcius Laeca, a tribune of the plebs, A. U. 454. See Liv. x. 9. Porcia lex sola pro tergo civium lata videtur, quod gravi poena, si quis verberasset necassetve civem Romanum, sanxit. A citizen brought on a capital charge before the people might decline a trial by withdrawing into banishment.

23. **Aliae leges]** The lex Sempronia of C. Gracchus also forbade the magistrate pronouncing a capital sentence against a citizen without first obtaining the sanction of the people.

24. **Qui convenit]** *Qui* the old ablat. for *quo*.

25. **At enim]** A formula for meeting a supposed objection. "But some one will say."

26. **Tempus, dies, etc.]** Scil. *reprehendent*: in answer to the foregoing question.

27. **In alios]** *In aliis*, the reading of one MS., seems preferable. Comp. above *in illis*, and *Catil.* 9. *in amicis*, etc.

28. **Triginta viros]** Commonly called the thirty tyrants; an oligarchical administration imposed upon Athens by the Spartans at the end of the Peloponnesian war, B. C. 404. Xenophon, *Hellen.* ii. 3. 2.

29. **Ea]** Scil. *facta*. Laetari with the accus. Comp. *Jugur.* 14. *laetandum magis puto quam dolendum casum tuum*. Cic. *ad Div.* vii. 1. *utrumque laetor*.

30. **Damasippus]** L. Junius Brutus Damasippus, an adherent of the Marian faction, put to death by Sulla, A. U. 672, after he had murdered many distinguished senators. See Vell. ii. 26; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 88, 93.

31. **Trahebantur]** "Were dragged to execution."

32. **Item]** *i. q. pariter*.

33. **Ab Samnitibus]** A warlike people inhabiting the mountainous country in the centre of southern Italy. Niebuhr has remarked that while the Latin names of domestic animals, agricultural implements, &c. are mostly adopted from the civilized Greeks, those of weapons, &c. are taken from the language of some indigenous warlike race. This, however, is not strictly the case. Comp. *ensis*, *ἔγχος*; *gladius*, *κλάδος*; *scutum*, *σκότος*; *galea*, *γαλή*; *hasta*, *ἴσσημι*; etc.

34. **Insignia magistratuum]** Such, perhaps, as the *trabea*, or white robe bordered or striped with purple, worn by the consuls and other magistrates; the *curule chair*, the *fasces*, and the *lictors*.

35. **Bonis]** *Scil. institutis*. The dative of the thing, instead of the person, which is more usual with *invidere*.

36. **Graeciae morem]** The Romans were proud of the mildness of their laws in regard to their own citizens, which they considered the mark of a free and liberal constitution, and Caesar throughout his career was sparing of their blood. But it was a bold thing to insinuate, as this passage seems to imply, that it was from the Greeks that the Romans adopted the punishment of death by flogging, of which there is no trace in the laws of Draco or of Solon. At Athens citizens were liable to capital punishment, which was frequently inflicted on slight grounds, though the mode of death, by administering a draught of hemlock, was studiously mild.

37. **Circumveniri]** "Were oppressed by civil arts." *Comp. c. 31. circumventus ab inimicis praeceps agor.*

38. **Aliaeque leges]** *Leges* is omitted by some MSS., but the repetition seems to be studied, in order to enforce upon the audience the contrast between law and illegal violence.

39. **Publicandas]** i. e. to be made *publici juris*, to be transferred to the public treasury.

40. **Per municipia]** *Comp. Cicero, in Catil. iv. 4. adjungit gravem poenam municipibus si quis eorum vincula ruperit; horribiles custodias circumdat, etc.* It appears that the Roman government allowed so much independence to the municipal administrations, that they might have refused to undertake the confinement of these prisoners. Cicero says: *municipiis dispertiri jubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis; difficultatem, si rogas.*

41. **Cum populo agat]** "Transact business with the people," i. e. appeal to the people.

CHAPTER LII.

1. **Verbo...varie]** "With a single word," signifying their agreement with one of the previous speakers, but *varie*, i. e. "giving their reasons accordingly."

2. **M. Porcius Cato]** The Porcian was a plebeian gens, but of ancient nobility. Cato the censor was great grandfather of the Cato here mentioned, who is distinguished from him by

the surname of *Uticensis*, from the place of his death. He was born, A. U. 659, B. C. 95. Accordingly, he was at this time 32 years of age. He had not yet served any high office, and was only beginning to become known in the political world. The uncompromising opinions he expressed on this occasion marked him out as a leader for the nobles, who were dissatisfied with Pompeius and Crassus, and disdained Cicero for his obscure origin.

3. **Orationem habuit]** Cicero characterizes Cato's speech on this occasion in his pleading for Sestius, c. 28. *consule me, quum esset designatus tribunus plebis, obtulit in discrimen vitam suam; dixit eam sententiam, cujus invidiam capitis periculo sibi praestandam videbat; dixit vehementer, egit acriter, ea quae sensit prae se tulit; dux, auctor, actor illarum rerum fuit.* Comp. Vell. ii. 35. The beginning of this speech may be compared with that of the third Olynthiac of Demosthenes.

The conciseness of Sallust's style is observable in his use of the neut. adject. for substantives; e. g. *alieni appetens, sui profusus* for *alienarum, suarum rerum*. This is particularly noticeable in the use of the words *bonum, malum, commodum, certum, aequum, honestum*, and others. Dietsch.

4. **Aris atque focus]** The best opinion seems to be that both these words refer to the citizens' private dwellings; the *ara* being the altar of the *Penates*, in the central court of the house (*impluvium*), the *focus* the hearth in the hall (*atrium*) around which the little images of the *Lares* were ranged. See Ernesti in *Clav. Cicer.* v. *Ara*.

5. **Cavere ab illis, quam]** *Magis* is omitted by the best critics on the authority of many MSS. So in cc. 8, 9, 48.

6. **Cujuscumque modi sunt]** The indic. mood implying the certainty in the mind of the speaker of there being such things. Comp. below, *cujus haec cumque modi videntur.* Cic. *de Off.* i. 25. *utilitatem civium tueantur, ut quaecumque agunt, ad rem publicam referant.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 42. *quicquid istuc sceleris imminet.*

7. **Capessite rem publicam]** "Take public affairs in hand."

8. **In dubio]** i. e. *in periculo.* Comp. Ovid, *Amor.* ii. 13. 2. *In dubio vitae nostra Corinna jacet.*

9. **In hoc ordine]** "In this assembly," i. e. before the senatorial order.

10. **Haud facile, etc.]** "I am not wont easily to forgive

other men's evil passions their misdeeds:" *condonare*, to forgive, i.e. to give up, as a thing in which we have no concern.

11. *Opulentia negligentiam tolerabat*] "The resources of the state enabled it to bear the loss inflicted by your carelessness."

12. *Nostra, an nobiscum una, etc.*] "Whether they shall continue ours, or become our enemies', together with ourselves."

13. *Hic mihi quisquam*] "Here some one, I suppose," (with irony) "speaks to me of mildness and pitifulness." Comp. Cic. *Phil.* viii. 4. *hic mihi Fufius pacis commoda commemorat*. Some editions make the sentence interrogative.

14. *Vera rerum vocabula amisimus*] Comp. Thucyd. ii. 82. *τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν ὀνομάτων ἀντήλλαξαν κ.τ.λ.*

15. *Eo respublica in extremo sita est*] "To such an extremity is the state reduced."

16. *In furibus*] "In the case of plunderers." For the ablat. see above, cc. 9, 51, &c.

17. *Ne*] i. q. *dummodo ne*, "as long as they do not." Comp. Liv. xxxvi. 1. *permissum ut auxilia ab sociis, ne supra quinque millium numerum, acciperet*.

18. *Illi*] (With emphasis and indignation.) This reading, supported by several MSS. is preferable to *illis*, which must be referred grammatically to *fures aerarii*; but such is certainly not the writer's meaning. The critics who read *illis* generally understand it of the conspirators, who could only be referred to by the word *his*, *δεικτικῶς*.

19. *Credo, falsa*] This is the order of all the MSS. inverted by Cortius, as unusual where *credo* is introduced ironically: "deeming false, forsooth." But compare Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 90. *credo, hac mente* (for h. m. c.). Cic. *in Catil.* i. 2. *si te interfici jussero, credo, erit verendum-mihi*.

20. *Diverso itinere malos a bonis*] "The bad in a contrary direction from the good:" scil. *diverso a bonis*. Comp. Caes. *B. C.* i. 69. *erat iter a proposito diversum; contrariamque in partem iri videbatur*. *B. G.* vi. 25. *diversis ab flumine regionibus*. Stat. *Theb.* vii. 706. *quantum diversus ab illo*.

21. *Habere*] i. q. *tenere*. Comp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 434. *Proxima deinde tenent moesti loca*.

22. *Videlicet*] Ironical. There is irony also in *timens*, as if any suggestion of *fear* on Caesar's part must have been a

pretence, insinuating that he was on a perfect understanding with the conspirators.

23. **A popularibus conjurationis]** "By the associates of the cabal." Comp. above, c. 24. *quod factum populares conjurationis concusserat: populares*, fig. persons of the same class, prop. of the same nation.

24. **Aderunt]** "Will attack you." Comp. *Jugur.* 50. *Numidae infensi adesse atque instare.* Liv. xxii. 32. *Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen.*

25. **Quae nobis nulla sunt]** "Which are lost and gone for us:" an antique idiom. Comp. Plaut. *Casin.* ii. 4. 26. *si id factum est, ecce me nullum senem.* Ter. *Phorm.* i. 4. 1. *nullus es, Geta, "you are lost, done for."*

26. **Neque delicto neque lubrici obnoxios]** "Biassed. neither by conscious guilt, nor by passion."

27. **Possidet]** "Enjoys:" *possidere*, not to possess as one's own property, but to have the usufruct of a thing.

Ambitio is always used by Sallust in its secondary sense, as the immoderate or illegitimate pursuit of honours. Dietsch.

28. **In vacuum rempublicam]** "Upon the unprotected commonwealth."

29. **Supra caput]** A phrase implying imminent, impending danger. Comp. Liv. iii. 17. *quum hostes supra caput sint.*

30. **Vos cunctamini, etc.]** "Are you even now deliberating?"

31. **Deprehensis]** "Caught and convicted." Comp. c. 46. *in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis.* *Jugur.* 35. *ipse deprehensus indicium profitetur: the dative, as Catil. 55. idem fit ceteris.* *Jugur.* 85. *faciunt idem majoribus suis.*

32. **Misereamini censeo]** "Have compassion, I advise you," (ironically).

33. **Nae]** Or *ne*, "yes," *val.* Comp. *Jugur.* 15. *nae ille graves poenas reddet; 85. nae illi falsi sunt.* Cic. *in Catil.* ii. 3. *nae illi vehementer errant.*

34. **Scilicet res ipsa, etc.]** "In good sooth the affair is a perilous one; but you, for your part, have no fear, as you say: yes indeed, but you do fear, and most exceedingly."

35. **Prospera omnia cedunt]** "Everything ends well."

36. **T. Manlius Torquatus]** For the story of Manlius, who, as imperator, caused his son to be put to death by

military execution for engaging in combat contrary to orders, see Liv. viii. 7. Sallust and Dion Hal. refer this event to a Gallic war; but other writers to a war with the Latins. Sallust's error arose probably from his confounding this occasion with that on which Manlius won the collar (torquis) from the Gaulish champion.

37. Nisi iterum] "Unless this is now the second time," referring probably to the former abortive conspiracy of Catiline. See c. 18.

38. Si quidquam unquam pensi fuisset] "If they had ever reflected at all."

39. Peccato locus] "If this were an occasion on which you might err with impunity."

40. Faucibus urget] "Has seized you by the throat;" as a robber or beast of prey. Comp. Cic. *pro Cluent.* 31: cum faucibus premeretur. Val. Max. v. 3. 3. faucibus apprehensam republicam strangulari passus. Plaut. *Cas.* v. 3. 4. manifesto faucibus teneor.

41. Manifestis] Comp. *Jugur.* 35. manifestus tanti sceleris. Plaut. *Truc.* i. 2. 30. manifestam mendacii, and above, c. 41, note 6.

42. More majorum] i. e. to be strangled in prison: the ancient mode of execution in use before the abolition of capital punishment by the lex Sempronia. When it was proposed, in the reign of Nero, that Antistius should be executed *more majorum*, it was urged that the sentence should be commuted to banishment: for, carnificem et laqueum pridem abolita. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 48.

CHAPTER LIII.

1. Adsedit] "Took his seat;" in which sense the present *adsido* is used, not *adsideo*. Comp. Plaut. *Bacch.* iii. 3. 28. Adsido, accurrunt servi, soccos detrahunt. Cic. *Acad.* i. 4. adsidamus si videtur. Ter. *Heaut.* i. 1. 72. eo mulier adsidat.

2. Ad caelum ferunt] "Exalt to heaven." Comp. Virg. *Aen.* i. 260. sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli Magnanimum Aenean. Fero may stand alone in the same sense: *Aen.* vi. 823. utcunque ferent ea facta minores.

3. Clarus atque magnus] Comp. Tac. *Agric.* 18. clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola. Lucan, ix. 202. clarum et venerabile nomen.

4. Sicuti ille censuerat] The decree is said to have been made in accordance with Cato's opinion, not as if he had been

the only speaker on that side, but because his speech was the most effective, and had evidently carried the point. See Cicero to Atticus, xii. 21. *cur ego in sententiam Catonis? quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus eandem rem comprehenderat.* He insists that Cato's merit lay in recommending his own (i. e. Cicero's) policy, whereas M. Brutus, in writing a panegyric on his uncle Cato, had made it appear as if the capital punishment had been Cato's original suggestion. Much weight cannot be given to Brutus's authority on this point, but it is in some degree corroborated by the silence of Sallust regarding the part which Cicero claimed in the business.

5. **Forte lubuit attendere]** "It has chanced that I have chosen to turn my attention to the inquiry," &c.

6. **Contendisse...toleravisse]** Scil. *pop. Romanum.*

7. **Ante Romanos]** "To have surpassed the R." Comp. for this use of the prep. Tac. *Hist.* iv. 55. *Classicus nobilitate ante alios.* Ann. i. 27. *Lentulus ante alios aetate et gloria belli.* And see note 3 on *Jugur.* 15.

8. **Multa agitanti]** "On much reflection."

9. **Rursus]** i. q. *contra.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 80. *neque enim eminentes virtutes sectabatur, et rursus vitia oderat.* Cic. *De Fin.* iii. 10. *neque in bonis numerata sit, neque rursus in malis.*

10. **Sustentabat]** "Endured," "bore up under:" as *sustinisset*, supra. Both words are of frequent occurrence in Sallust. (*Catil.* i. 14. *Jugur.* 56, 97, 109.)

11. **Effeta aetate parentum]** *Aetate* is introduced on the conjecture of Dietsch: "as when parents have grown old and exhausted." For *effeta aetas*, comp. Virg. *Aen.* vii. 440:

Sed te victa situ verique effeta senectus.

The readings of the MSS. *effeta parente*, *effetae parentum*, cannot be explained satisfactorily.

CHAPTER LIV.

1. **Genus, aetas...aequalia]** Cato was of a plebeian, Caesar of a patrician family; both however ennobled by public honours. Cato was thirty-three, Caesar thirty-eight years of age. Of Caesar's eloquence Quintilian says, *Inst. Orat.* x. 1. 114. *C. vero Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur.*

2. **Alia alii]** Scil. *gloria.* *Alii* for *alteri*, although of two only, to correspond with the preceding *alia.* Comp. Liv. i. 25. *duo Romani super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt.*

3. **Dono dignum]** "Fitting to give," i. e. consistent with proper principles.

4. **Novum bellum]** "A fresh war," the conduct of which he might have for his own. Pompey had monopolized the conduct of the last great war in the East.

5. **Cum innocente]** "With the pure and incorrupt." So *innocentia* is opposed to *avaritia* in c. 12, and *Jugur.* 46.

6. **Esse quam videri bonus]** This may be taken from Aeschylus (*Sept. c. Theb.* 589.) οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει. The idea, however, is common. Comp. Cic. *De Amic.* virtute ipsa non tam multi praediti esse quam videri volunt. Martial, viii. 38. Refert sis bonus an velis videri. Vell. ii. 35, speaking also of Cato, nunquam recte fecit ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat. For Cato's character, see particularly the fine panegyric in Lucan, ii. 380 foll.

CHAPTER LV.

1. **Noctem...antecapere]** "To anticipate nightfall."

2. **Triumviros]** Scil. *capitales*: magistrates who had the charge of the prisons and of public executions. Hence triumphale supplicium. Tac. *Ann.* v. 9.

3. **Praesidiis]** Juvenal, viii. 238. galeatum ponit ubique Praesidium attonitis.

4. **Quod Tullianum appellatur]** The Carcer, a public prison, under the eastern side of the Capitoline hill, was built by Ancus, and enlarged by Servius Tullius. Varro, *de L. L.* iv. 32. carcer a coercendo, quod exire prohibentur: in hoc pars quae sub terra Tullianum, quod additum a Tullio rege. Comp. Liv. xxiv. 22. This place now exists, and is used as a chapel to a church built over it, in honour of the supposed imprisonment there of St Peter. Formerly criminals were let down into it by a hole in the chamber above. Quod is made to agree with Tullianum, by prolepsis or anticipation, rather than with carcer. The neuter *Tullianum* may depend on *robur*, "a prison," understood.

5. **Ascenderis]** Some editions read *escenderis*, with the same sense, but with no authority. Certain MSS. give *descenderis*, which would imply descent within the walls of the *carcer* to the chamber called the *Tullianum* on the left hand, the entrance to which was reached by twelve steps. But the phrase *ubi ascenderis*, which has most authority, seems to imply some common passengers' route, and refers, probably, to the ascent of the street in which the *carcer* stood from the forum, and this agrees with the existing localities.

6. *Camera, lapideis fornicibus vincta*] "A ceiling vaulted with stone arches."

7. *Vindices*] Not the triumvirs themselves, but the *car-ni-fices*, common executioners, under their orders.

8. *Laqueo gulam fregere*] Either by stopping the wind-pipe or breaking the neck. *Hor. Epod. 3. Parentis olim si quis impia manu Senile guttur fregerit.*

CHAPTER LVI.

1. *Instituit*] "Makes two skeleton legions." He had not men enough to form two legions complete, but he created the regular number of cohorts, maniples and centuries for each, appointed officers, and filled up the ranks as fast as new recruits arrived. Caesar seems, on the contrary, on a similar occasion to have reduced the number of his cohorts. *Bell. Civ. iii. 93. quartae aciei, quam instituerat sex cohortium numero, signum dedit.* The full complement of the legion was ten cohorts.

2. *Numero hominum*] With their complement of men. This is not superfluous, though *expleverat* follows, inasmuch as the writer wishes to mark that the *number* was complete, but they were incompletely *armed*.

3. *In Galliam versus*] For this construction compare Caesar, *Bell. Gall. vi. 33, vii. 8; Jugur. 58. fugam ad se versum fieri.*

4. *Cujus*] Supply, *rei* or *generis*. Comp. *Liv. xlii. 8. bonaque ut iis, quicquid ejus recuperari possit, reddantur.* Compare *Plaut. Bacch. iv. 4. 74. Quae imperavisti, imperatum bene bonis, factum illico est.*

5. *Alienum suis rationibus*] "Inconsistent with his policy."

CHAPTER LVII.

1. *In agrum Pistoriensem*] "The territory of Pistoria," modern Pistoia, in Etruria. Catiline had fixed his quarters at *Faesulae*. Coins have been found buried there, with dates reaching to this year, and no later, evidently to escape the search of his pillaging bands. Pistoria lay north-west of *Faesulae*, among the Apennines, on the road to Gaul. The direct road to the Cisalpine province lay to the north, through *Bononia*, but *Celer* occupied this. Besides, Catiline wanted to get to the *Allobroges* in the *Transalpine*.

2. **Ex difficultate rerum]** "From the difficult circumstances he was in;" i. q. *propter difficultatem*.

3. **Consedit]** i. e. *castra posuit*. Comp. *Caes. B. G. i. 21*. *Consido* is the form of the present, *consedi* of the praeterite or past time. *Virg. Aen. xi. extr.* *Considunt castris ante urbem*. *Ovid. Metam. xiii. 1.* *Consedere duces*. Comp. note 1, c. 53, *adsedit*.

4. **In fuga]** i. e. *fugientem*.

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. **Natura aut moribus]** "Natural or acquired."

2. **Unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia]** "One on the side of the city, the other on the side of Gaul."

3. **Si maxime]** "However much;" i. q. *etiam si maxime*.

4. **Commeatus abunde]** *Scil. erunt*. Comp. c. 21. *quibus mala abunde omnia erant*. *Jugur. 87.* *Romanos laxius licentiusque futuros*. *Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 106.* *recte tibi semper erunt res*. So the adverbs *impune*, *adversus*, are joined with the verb subst.

5. **Supervacaneum]** "Superfluous," "a work of supererogation;" i. e. they already possess all the things that we are compelled to fight for, life, liberty, &c., and it is a mere matter of choice with them to fight for the ascendancy of the nobles.

6. **Habetur]** See note on c. 1. "The possession of boldness is as good as a rampart."

7. **Queat]** Dietsch observes that this word, rarely used by other good writers, occurs six times in Sallust. See *Jugur. 10, 44, 58, 97 bis*.

CHAPTER LIX.

1. **Signa canere jubet]** "Orders the trumpets to sound." Understand *signa* however as the object, subaud. *tubicines* the subject, as in *Jugur. 29.* *Marius jubet tubicines simul omnes signa canere*. This subject and object are rarely expressed together. We have *Liv. xxiv. 46.* *cornicines canere jubent*. *Sall. Fr. Hist. i. 38.* *cornicines occinuerunt*. But it is more common to meet with the phrase in the text. Comp. *Liv. i. 1; xxiv. 15; xxvii. 47.* Some critics take *signa* as the subject, in which case the idiom is identical with the English given above.

2. **Omnium equis]** Comp. *Caes. Bell. Gall. i. 25.* *Caesar primum suo deinde omnium e conspectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret*.

3. **Ipse pedes]** "Himself on foot;" as a foot-soldier. Comp. Senec. *Ep.* 104. *per medias Africae solitudines pedes duxit exercitum.* Lucan, ix. 587. *praecedit anhelis Militis ora pedes.*

4. **Rupes aspera]** Sub. *erat.* The MSS. read *rupe*, which can only be explained, *aspera* (*loca*) *ab dextra rupe*, and may be pronounced inadmissible.

5. **Reliqua signa]** "The rest of his forces." Every maniple had its own standard.

6. **Evocatos]** Veterans discharged or entitled to their discharge, but continuing to serve, or returning to service, with higher pay and peculiar privileges.

7. **Faesulanum quemdam]** Plutarch gives him the name of *Furius*.

8. **Curare]** "To command;" a proper military term. Comp. *Jugur.* 46, 57, and elsewhere. Tacitus sometimes adds the object. *Annal.* i. 31. *inferiorem exercitum A. Caecina curabat.*

9. **Libertis et colonis]** "His own freedmen and the Sullan veterans settled in colonies:" a chosen band of men attached to his person.

10. **Propter aquilam]** "Beside his eagle." A silver eagle, belonging to one of the legions of Marius, which Catiline kept as a sort of amulet. See Cic. *in Catil.* i. 9.

11. **Pedibus aeger]** Antonius is surmised to have feigned sickness, to escape the necessity of fighting with Catiline, in whose designs he may have been partly implicated. See Dion, xxxvii. 39.

12. **M. Petreio]** The same who was joined in command with Afranius, as a legatus of Pompey in Spain, and was there defeated by Caesar, *A. U.* 705. He caused himself to be killed in single combat with Juba, king of Numidia, after the disastrous battle of Thapsus.

13. **Tumulti caussa]** *Tumultus*, a sudden occasion of peril from a foreign foe, when the ordinary rules of service are suspended, and the citizens generally liable to be called out for the defence of the state. A *tumultus* was usually proclaimed when the Gauls threatened an invasion, as was said to be the case now.

14. **Inermes]** "Without the regular arms of legionaries."

15. **Homo militaris]** "A man of military experience." Comp. the same phrase above, ch. 45.

16. **Tribunus]** *Scil. militum.* There were six of these to each legion. In early times they commanded the legion successively day by day, and even at this period a tribune might still be called by courtesy, the commander of a legion. Horace, at the age of 22, joined the army of M. Brutus in Greece, and was appointed a tribunus. He says of himself: *Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.* It is impossible that so young and obscure a man could have been actual commander of a legion.

17. **Praefectus]** The commander of the auxiliary horse, appointed by the imperator from among his Roman officers.

18. **Legatus]** The consul's or imperator's lieutenant, generally in command of a detachment.

19. **Praetor]** *i. q. imperator.* *Qui praet exercitui.*

20. **Plerosque ipsos]** "Most of them personally."

CHAPTER LX.

1. **Ferentarii]** 1. Men who brought supplies of missiles to the armed combatants. 2. The bowmen and slingers on the wings. 3. Any light-armed irregulars.

2. **Cum infestis signis]** "With opposing standards." *Caes. B. G. vii. 51. legiones infestis contra hostes signis constiterunt.* *Lucan, i. 6. infestis obvia signis Signa.*

3. **Pila emittunt]** So in *Caes. Bell. Gall. i. 52, vii. 88. nostri omissis pilis gladio rem gerunt.* *Comp. Lucan, vii. 490:*

*Odiis solus civilibus ensis
Sufficit, et dextras Romana in viscera ducit.*

And again, viii. 385:

*Ensis habet vires et gens quaecunque virorum est
Bella gerit gladiis.*

4. **Veterani]** *i. e.* the soldiers of the republic, referring to the *veteranae cohortes* just mentioned.

5. **Magna vi tendere]** "To exert himself vigorously." *Comp. Virg. Aen. xii. 553. vasto certamine tendunt.* *Liv. xxxii. 32. quod summa vi ut tenderet mandaverat.*

6. **Cohortem praetoriam]** The imperator's body-guard.

7. **In primis pugnantes cadunt]** "Foremost fighting fall," or, "are among the first to fall." The first seems the preferable interpretation. *Comp. Tyrtaeus, fragm. i. 1. τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεισύντα. ii. 11. ἴθὺς δ' εἰς προμάχους ἀσπίδ' ἀνὴρ ἐχέτω.* The expression comes originally from Homer, *Il. xix. ult. ἐν πρώτοις ἰάχων ἔχε μούνοχας ἵππους.*

CHAPTER LXI.

1. **Tum vero]** For this redundant use of the conjunction, comp. Liv. xxii. 11. *ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello dictator retulit.* xxvi. 31. *reductis in curiam legatis tum consul, etc.* See a nearly similar construction above, c. 51. *postquam respublika adolevit...tum lex Porcia, etc.*

2. **Medios]** "In the centre." See the last chapter: *in medios hostes inducit.*

3. **Disjecerat]** "Had broken, routed, dispersed." Virg. *Aen.* v. *Disjice compositam pacem.*

4. **Paullo diversius]** "Somewhat more scattered;" subaud. *quidem.*

5. **Etiam]** i. q. *adhuc.* Comp. Ter. *Andr.* i. 1. 89. *non satis pernosti me etiam.* Virg. *Aen.* vi. 485. *etiam currus etiam arma tenentem.*

6. **Vivus]** "While living;" i. q. *vivens.* Comp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 653:

Quae gratia currum
Armorumque fuit vivis.

7. **Civis ingenuus]** A free citizen born of free citizens.

8. **Ita...juxta]** "So equally unsparing had they all been both of their own and their opponents' lives."

9. **Laetitia]** For a distinction between "laetitia" and "gaudium" see note on ch. 48. "Moeror" may differ from "luctus" as sorrow from mourning, the one the inward feeling, the other the outward sign of grief. Here luctus is plural, answering to gaudia. Comp. Lucan, vii. 705:

lacrimas luctusque remitte.

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI
JUGURTHA.

I. FALSO queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod imbecilla atque aevi brevis forte potius quam virtute regatur. Nam contra reputando neque majus aliud neque praestabilius invenies, magisque naturae industriam hominum quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est; qui ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortunae eget; quippe quae probitatem, industriam, alias artes bonas neque dare neque eripere cuiquam potest; sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad inertiam et voluptates corporis pessum datus est, perniciose lubidine paulisper usus, ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur; suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque etiam periculosa petunt, neque regerentur magis quam regerentur casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent, uti pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent.

II. Nam uti genus hominum compositum ex anima et corpore, ita res cunctae studiaque omnia

nostra corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis alia hujuscemodi omnia brevi dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora sicuti anima immortalia sunt. Postremo corporis et fortunae bonorum ut initium, sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt; animus incorruptus, aeternus, rector humani generis agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum atque ignaviam aetatem agunt; ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque secordia torpescere sinunt; quum praesertim tam multae variaeque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. Verum ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum minime mihi hac tempestate cupienda videntur; quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem is fuit, utique tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes quamquam et possis, et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est; quum praesertim omnes rerum mutationes caedem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant: frustra autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quaerere extremae dementiae est; nisi forte quem inhonesta et pernicioosa lubido tēnet potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

IV. Ceterum ex aliis negotiis quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum; cujus de virtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto, simul ne per insolentiam quis existimet memet studium meum laudando extollere.

Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a re publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant; certe, quibus maxima industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quaerere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sim, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quae genera hominum in senatum pervenerint, profecto existimabunt me magis merito quam ignavia iudicium animi mei mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis reipublicae venturum. Nam saepe audivi Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, “quum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi;” scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit. At contra quis est omnium his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum majoribus suis contendat? etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi praetura et consulatus atque alia omnia hujuscemodi per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea sustinent, virtus est. Verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque: nunc ad inceptum redeo.

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha, rege Numidarum, gessit; pri-

mum, quia magnum et atrox, variaque victoria fuit; dein, quia tum primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est; quae contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordiae processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. Sed priusquam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam; quo ad cognoscendum omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginensium Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes maxime attriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat; ob quae victis Carthaginensibus et capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus quascumque urbes et agros manu ceperat regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit: imperii vitaeque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa, filius, regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumentis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit, Jugurthamque, Mastanabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum dereliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu, neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et quum omnes gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse: ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut

in primis ferire, plurimum facere, minimum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existimans virtutem Jugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis magis magisque crescere intelligit, vehementer negotio permotus multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperii et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suaeque et liberorum aetatis, quae etiam mediocres viros spe praedae transversos agit; ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur bello Numantino Micipsa quum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium saevitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit Numidis quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore multaque cura, praeterea modestissime parendo et saepe obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis est, et praelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio;

quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnes fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi et ingenii sollertia, queis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiæ bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti, qui Jugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, "si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore, uti solus imperii Numidiae potiretur: in ipso maximam virtutem, Romae omnia venalia esse." Sed postquam Numantia deleta P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, ipse reverti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in praetorium abduxit ibique secreto monuit, "uti potius publice, quam privatim, amicitiam populi R. coleret; neu quibus largiri insuesceret; periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum; sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum."

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris eum, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit: earum sententia haec erat: "Jugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit; quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse: nobis ob merita carus est; uti idem senatui sit et populo Romano, summa ope nitentur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te atque

avo suo Masinissa." Igitur rex ubi ea quae fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, quum virtute viri tum gratia permotus flexit animum suum et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est; statimque cum adoptavit et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos morbo atque aetate confectus quum sibi finem vitae adesse intelligeret, coram amicis et cognatis, item Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.

X. "Parvum ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus in meum regnum accepi; existimans non minus me tibi quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore: neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissime rediens Numantia meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti; tua virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti; in Hispania nomen familiae renovatum est; postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortales est, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura vitae finem facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque te, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te,

Jugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat providere decet. Nam in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit injuriam tamen quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar, quam genuisse."

XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intelligebat, et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. Postquam illi more regio justa magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenere, uti inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus ex illis erat, natura ferox et jam ante ignobilitatem Jugurthae, quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextra Adherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, uti aetati concederet fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio disserent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit: "oportere quinquennii consulta omnia et decreta rescindi; nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse." Tum idem, Hiempsal, "placere sibi," respondit: "nam ipsum illum tribus proximis annis adoptione in regnum pervenisse." Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthae altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri, parare; atque ea modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quae ubi tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros finesque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris, alius alio, concessere. Sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmita forte ejus domo utebatur, qui, proximus licitor Jugurthae carus acceptusque semper fuerat; quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat impellitque, uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum claves adulterinas parat; nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur; ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi confecit atque, ut doctus erat, noctu Jugurthae milites introducit. Qui postquam in aedes irrupere, diversi regem quaerere; dormientes alios, alios occursantes interficere; scrutari loca abdita; clausa effringere; strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere quum Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans se in tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput ejus, uti jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

XIII. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur; Adherbalem omnesque, qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant, metus invadit; in duas partes discedunt; plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maximas potest copias armat; urbes partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit; omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis, tamen, fretus multitudine militum, parabat

armis contendere. Sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex proelio profugit in provinciam ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha, patris consiliis, postquam omnis Numidiae potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque adversus iram ejus usquam nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam mittit, queis praecepit, primum uti veteres amicos muneribus expleant; deinde novos acquirant; postremo quemcumque possint largiendo parare ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venere et ex praecepto regis hospitibus aliisque, quorum ea tempestate auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxima invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti, singulos ex Senatu ambiendo nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur legati ubi satis confidunt, die constituto, senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. "Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens praecepit, uti regnum Numidiae tantummodo procuratione existimarem meum; ceterum jus et imperium penes vos esse; simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano; vos mihi cognatorum, vos affinium loco ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. Quae quum praecepta parentis mei agitare, Jugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vestro, Masinissae me nepotem et jam ab stirpe socium et amicum populi Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque

ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem potius ob mea quam ob majorum beneficia posse a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxime deberi mihi a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum, ea si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret, ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui esse. Ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram appetiverunt; familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides ejus quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati me, nepotem Masinissae, frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil causae haberem praeter miserandam fortunam, quod paullo ante rex, genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto, tamen erat majestatis populi Romani prohibere injuriam, neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et avus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, Patres conscripti; vos in injuria mea despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia evasere, uti, quem tu parem cum liberis tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuae extinator sit? Nunquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia saeva patiebamur: hostes ab

latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ex Africa ejecta est, laeti pacem agitabamus; quippe quis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem vos jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improvise, Jugurtha intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese eferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui praedam fecit; post, ubi me iisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus quam vim aut bellum exspectantem in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo, inopem et cooptum miseris, effecit, ut ubivis tutius quam in meo regno essem. Ego sic existimabam, Patres conscripti, ut praedicantem audiveram patrem meum, qui vestram amicitiam colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere; ceterum ex omnibus maxime tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit, uti in omnibus bellis vobis adessent; nos uti per otium tuti simus in manu vestra est, Patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus est nobis conjunctum fore. Alter eorum necatus, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quo potissimum infelix accedam? Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt: pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit: fratri, quem minime decuit, propinquus per scelus vitam eripuit: adfines, amicos, propinquos ceteros, alium alia clades oppressit; capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt; pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris cum moerore et luctu morte graviolem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quae aut amisi, aut ex necessariis adversa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improvise accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres conscripti; quibus,

pro magnitudine imperii, jus et injurias omnes curae esse decet. Nunc vero, exsul patria, domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accidam, aut quos appellam? nationesne an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore: si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una nobis occidendum esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti: omnia secunda et obedientia sunt; quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthae parum cognita transversos agat: quos ego audio maxima ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognita caussa, statuatis; fingere me verba, fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miserias projectus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam; et aliquando aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortales, rerum humanarum cura oriatur! nae ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatu impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis mearumque miseriarum graves poenas reddet. Jam jam frater, animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi immaturo, et unde minime decuit, vita erepta est, tamen laetandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuum; non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem et omnes has,

quae me premunt, aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam; tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, an regno consulam, ejus vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, neu jure contemptus viderer, si defessus malis injuriae concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentes, per majestatem populi Romani, subvenite misero mihi; ite obviam injuriae; nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere.”

XV. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthae, largitione magis quam caussa freti, paucis respondent: “Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Adherbalem, ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset: Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne alium putarent ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent.” Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, praeterea magna pars gratia depravata, Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus: gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis carius erat, subveniendum Adherbali, et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant; sed ex omnibus maxime Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum; ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt

regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubricitate continuit.

XVI. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quae vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent: cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens; quia consul C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis acerrime victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romae in inimicis habuerat, tamen accuratissime recepit; dando et pollicitando multa perfecit, uti fama, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferet. Reliquos legatos eadem via aggressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit. In divisione quae pars Numidiae Mauretanium attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthae traditur; illam alteram, specie quam usu potiore, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

XVII. Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere, et eas gentes, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere. Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de his haud facile compertum narraverim; cetera quam paucissimis absolvam. In divisione orbis terrae plerique in partia tertia Africam posuere; pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse; sed Africam in Europa. Ea fines habet ab occidente fretum nostri maris et oceani; ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolae appellant. Mare saevum, importuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus

pecori, arbore infecundus ; caelo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum ; plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere ; nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat ; ad hoc malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama, quae plerosque obtinet, diversum est, tamen uti ex libris Punicis qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terrae putant, quam paucissimis dicam. Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incultique ; queis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus neque lege neque imperio cujusquam regebantur ; vagi, palantes, qua nox coëgerat sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persae et Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persae intra oceanum magis ; iique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emendi aut mutandi copia erat ; mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paullatim per connubia Gaetulos secum miscuere, et quia saepe tentantes agros alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere. Ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, ob-

longa, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt. Medi autem et Armenii accessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant, Gaetuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus) hique mature oppida habuere: nam freto divisi ab Hispania mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrumpere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit; ac postea nomine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possedere ea loca, quae proxime Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Dein utrique, alteris freti, finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium coegere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis hi qui ad nostrum mare processerant: quia Libyes, quam Gaetuli, minus bellicosi. Denique Africae pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est; victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

XIX. Postea Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperii cupidine sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumentum, Leptim, aliasque urbes in ora maritima condidere; haeque brevi multum auctae, pars originibus suis praesidio, aliae decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere; quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Thereôn, ac deinceps duae Syrtes, interque eas Leptis; dein Philaenôn arae, quem locum, Aegyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses; post aliae Punicae urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretanium Numidae tenent; proxime Hispaniam Mauri sunt; super Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus par-

tim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare; post eos Aethiopus esse; dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida et fines Carthaginensium, quos novissime habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat; Gaetulorum magna pars et Numidia usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant; Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen cetera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello neque pace antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XX. Postquam, diviso regno, legati Africa decedere, et Jugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt, certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus; at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriae, metuens magis quam metuendus. Igitur ex improvise fines ejus cum magna manu invadit, multos mortales cum pecore atque alia praeda capit, aedificia incendit pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit; dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existimans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli caussam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existimabat, et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit; qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum sumere; quia tentatum antea secus cesserat. Neque tamen eo magis

cupido Jugurthae minuebatur: quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere coepit et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. Ceterum qua pergebat urbes, agros vastare, praedas agere; suis animum, terrorem hostibus augere.

XXI. Adherbal ubi intelligit eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat, et Jugurthae obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari, prope Cirtam oppidum, utriusque consedit exercitus: et quia die extremum erat, proelium non inceptum. Ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumscedit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur, maxime festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante proelium factum, ab Adherbale Romam missos audiverat. Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adolescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambo reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuncient, "Velle et censere, eos ab armis discedere; de controversiis suis jure potius, quam bello, disceptare; ita seque illisque dignum esse."

XXII. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis, quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de proelio

facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur: sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit: "Sibi neque majus quidquam neque carius auctoritate senati: ab adolescentia ita enisum, uti ab optimo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse: ob easdem artes ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum: ceterum, quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obviam isse; populum Romanum neque recte neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit: postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum." Ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis appellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. Jugurtha, ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, turres exstruit, easque praesidiis firmat: praeterea dies noctesque, aut per vim aut dolis, tentare; defensoribus moenium praemia modo, modo formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intelligit omnes suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse, ex his, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duo maxime impigros delegit, eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

XXIV. Numidae paucis diebus jussa efficiunt; litterae Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sen-

tentia haec fuit: "Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthae subigit; quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, uti neque vos, neque deos immortales in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor; neque mihi Micipsae patris beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur; ferro, an fame, acrius urgear, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea; etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse; nisi tamen intelligo, illum supra quam ego sum petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram et regnum meum sperare: utrum gravius existimet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meum; deinde patrio regno me expulit:—quae sane fuerint nostrae injuriae, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet; me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit pericula mea declarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem et haec, quae scribo, et illa, quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eo natus sum ut Jugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque aerumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiae, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite; me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissae."

XXV. His litteris recitatis fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quam primum

Adherbali subveniendum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam non paruisset legatis. Sed ab iisdem regis fautoribus summa ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus; in quibus M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis et tunc in senatu princeps. Hi, quod in invidia res erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere; deinde brevi Uticam appulsi, litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, "quam ocissime ad provinciam accedat; seque ad eum ab senatu missos." Ille ubi accepit homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse, primo commotus, metu atque lubidine diversus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, ni paruisset legatis; porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur exercitu circumdato summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxime sperans diducta manu hostium aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque quod intenderat efficere potest, uti prius quam legatos conveniret Adherbalis potiretur, ne amplius morando, Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac, tamen etsi senati verbis minae graves nunciabantur, quod oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumpta legati frustra discessere.

XXVI. Ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi dedicatione facta propter magnitudinem populi Romani in-

violatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque, et oppidum Jugurthae tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur, de ceteris senatui curae fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthae rebatur, quia penes eosdem, si adversaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditioem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat; deinde omnes puberes Numidas et negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvius fuerat, interfecit.

XXVII. Quod postquam Romae cognitum est, et res in senatu agitari coepta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando ac saepe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset id agi, uti per paucos factiosos Jugurthae scelus condonaretur, profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa erat: tanta vis gratiae atque pecuniae regis. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretae: consules declarantur P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit: deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur: stipendium aliaque, quae bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. At Jugurtha contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui Romae omnia venum ire in animo haeserat, filium et cum eo duo familiares ad senatum legatos mittit; hisque ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecepit, "omnes mortales pecunia aggreddiantur." Qui postquam Romam adventabant se

natus a Bestia consultus est, "placeretne legatos Jugurthae recipi moenibus:" iique decrevere, "nisi regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus proximis decem Italia decederent." Cōsul Numidus ex senati decreto nunciari jubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat sibi homines nobiles, factiosos, quorum auctoritate quae deliquisset munita fore sperabat; in quibus fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia praepediebat; patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectae. Igitur Calpurnius initio paratis commeatibus acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multosque mortales et urbes aliquot pugnando capit.

XXIX. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellicae, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger avaritia facile conversus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum assumitur Scaurus; qui tametsi a principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrime regem impugnaverat, tamen magnitudine pecuniae a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existimans sese aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum: postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum accepit, in maximam spem adductus recuperandae pacis statuit cum iis de omnibus pactionibus praesens agere. Ceterum interea fidei causa mittitur

a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Jugurthae Vagam, cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam deditionis mora induciae agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit, ac pauca praesenti consilio locutus de invidia facti sui, atque in deditionem uti acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit; dein postero die, quasi per saturam exquisitis sententiis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephantum triginta, pecus atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere, quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. Postquam res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actae forent, fama divulgavit, Romae per omnes locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari. Apud plebem gravis invidia; Patres solliciti erant; probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat. Ac maxime eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur, a vero bonoque impediabat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari; monere, ne republicam, ne libertatem suam desererent; multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed quoniam ea tempestate Romae Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existimavi, unam ex tam multis orationem perscribere: ac potissimum ea dicam, quae in concione post reditum Bestiae hujusmodi verbis disseruit.

XXXI. “Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium reipublicae omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxime, quod innocentiae plus periculi quam honoris est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv, quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum; quam foede, quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores; ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque secordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxiiis inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit: certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente tradita est, experiar: verum id frustra, an ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm, Quirites. Neque ego hortor, quod saepe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessionis opus est: necesse est suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. Occiso Tiberio Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quaestiones habitae sunt: post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvii caedem item vestri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt: utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni paratio plebi sua restituere: quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini aerarium expilari; reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et summam gloriam, et maximas divitias esse: tamen haec talia facinora impune suscepisse parum habuere: itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos; qui ea fecere, pudet aut poenitet; sed incedunt per ora vestra magnifice,

sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes, perinde quasi ea honori, non praedae habeant. Servi aere parati imperia injusta dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, imperio nati, aequo animo servitutem toleratis? At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissimi idemque superbissimi; quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones injustas, plerique eadem in vos fecisse pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime tutus est; metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere; quos omnes eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit. Sed haec inter bonos amicitia inter malos factio est. Quod si tam vos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vestra penes optimos, non audacissimos forent. Majores vestri parandi juris et majestatis constituendae gratia bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa ope nitimini? atque eo vehementius, quod majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse? Dicit aliquis: Quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam? Non manu, neque vi, quod magis vos fecisse quam illis accidisse, indignum est, verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthae; qui si dediticius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit; sin ea contemnit, scilicet existimabitis qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad

paucos potentes maximae divitiae, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa, quam haec tempora, magis placent, quum regna, provinciae, leges, jura, judicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere; nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? Atque ego tametsi viro flagitiosissimum existimo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciendi licentia eripitur; et vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, quum intelligetis, aut serviendum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere: postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque vos ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus aerarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae; quae, quamquam gravia, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrimo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum; domi militiaeque respublica venalis fuit. Quae nisi quaesita erunt, ni vindicatum in noxios, quid reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? nam impune quae libet facere id est regem esse. Neque

ego vos, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis cives vestros perperam, quam recte fecisse, sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc in republica multo praestat beneficii quam maleficii immemorem esse: bonus tantummodo segnior fit ubi negligas, at malus improbior. Ad hoc si injuriae non sint, haud saepe auxilii egeas."

XXXII. Haec atque alia hujuscemodo saepe dicendo Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, eumque interposita fide publica, Romam duceret; quo facilius, indicio regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniae captae arcessebant, delicta patefierent. Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relictis a Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui, plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. Fuere, qui auro corrupti elephantos Jugurthae traderent; alii perfugas vendere; pars ex pacatis praedas agebant: tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius, perlata rogatione a C. Memmio ac percussa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur; eique timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet: "quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam misericordiam ejus experiri mallet." Privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

XXXIII. Igitur Jugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam maxime miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit; ac tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quae supra diximus, C. Baebium

tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus et injurias omnes munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione, quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris sui aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi, dignitati, quam irae magis consulens sedare motus et animos eorum mollire; postremo confirmare fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Jugurtha verba facit; Romae Numidiaequae facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque ostendit: "quibus juvantibus quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intelligat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere; si vera aperiret, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam; sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore, sed se suasque spes corrupturum."

XXXIV. Dein, ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet; ac, tametsi multitudo, quae in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat cum clamore, vultu, saepe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione discedit; Jugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi aucescunt.

XXXV. Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos; qui, quia in dissensione regum Jugurthae adversus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui

proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Muncio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit, Jugurtham ob scelera invidia cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerendi, moveri quam senescere omnia malebat: ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quae postquam Massiva agitare coepit, neque Jugurthae in amicis satis praesidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediabat, Bomilcari, proximo ac maxime fido sibi, imperat, "pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae paret, ac maxime occulte; sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat." Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur; et per homines talis negotii artifices itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat; deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem parati erant paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum obtruncat; sed ipse deprehensus multis hortantibus et in primis Albino consule indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha manifestus tanti sceeleris non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animum advertit supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis quam vadibus consulens clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus ne reliquos populares metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumtum foret, et ipse paucis diebus profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italia decedere. Sed postquam Roma

egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse, URBEM VENALEM ET MATURE PERITURAM, SI EMPTOREM INVENERIT!

XXXVI. Interim Albinus renovato bello comitum, stipendium, aliaque quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat armis aut deditioe aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias morae causas facere: polliceri deditioem, ac deinde metum simulare: instanti cedere et paullo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora consulem ludificari. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existimarent, neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum secordia magis quam dolo crederent. Sed postquam dilapso tempore comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto Romam decessit.

XXXVII. Ea tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistantibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur: quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediabat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiendi belli, aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiendae, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat; magnis itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat (nam circum murum, situm in prae-

rupti montis extremo, planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat,) tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque, quae incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati subdolos ejus augere amentiam, misitare supplicantes legatos; ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones sese veluti cedentem insequeretur; ita delicta occultiora fore. Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum tenebat; centuriones ducesque turmarum partim uti transfugerent corrumpere, alii signo dato locum uti desererent. Quae postquam ex sententia instruit, intempestate nocte de improvviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, tumultu percussi insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium; caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps; postremo fugere an manere tutius foret in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus transiere ad regem; et centurio primi pili tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introëundi dedit; eaque Numidae cuncti irrupere. Nostri foeda fuga, plerique abjectis armis proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque praeda castrorum hostes quo minus victoria uterentur remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo

in colloquio verba facit: "tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferroque clausum tenet, tamen se, humanarum rerum memorem, si secum foedus faceret, incolumes omnes sub jugum missurum: praeterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet." Quae quamquam gravia et flagitii plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabant, sicuti regi libuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. Sed ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque moeror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperii; pars, insolita rerum bellicarum, timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxime qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat; et tamen interim exercitu supplementum scribere; ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere; denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, suo atque populi injussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri. Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne quas paraverat copias secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur; nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit, quamquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae animus ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam soluto imperio licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitandum.

XL. Interea Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat "uti quaereretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglegisset; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut

imperii pecunias accepissent; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace, aut bello, cum hostibus pactiones fecissent." Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos, ac maxime per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes incredibile memoratu est quam intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, volucrit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicae: tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur ceteris metu percussis M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae fuisse supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis et suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate, quum ex Mamilia rogatione tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quaestio exercita aspere violenterque, ex rumore et lubidine plebis: ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. Ceterum mos partium popularium et senati factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae ortus est, otio et abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt. Nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant; neque gloriae, neque dominationis certamen inter cives erat; metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea, quae secundae res amant, lascivia atque superbia, incessere. Ita quod in adversis rebus optaverant otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbisque

fuit. Namque coepere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere; sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta sunt; respublica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat; plebis vis soluta atque dispersa in multitudine minus poterat; paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur; penes eosdem aerarium, provinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique erant; populus militia atque inopia urgebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes aut parvi liberi militum, ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia sine modo modestiaque invadere, polluere et vastare omnia; nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit. Nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustae potentiae anteponerent, moveri civitas, et dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coepit.

XLII. Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus, quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum respublicae addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere, nobilitatis noxia atque eo percussa modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco, ferro necaverat. Et sane Gracchis cupidine victoriae haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed bono vinci satius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur

ea victoria nobilitas ex lubricitate sua usa, multos mortales ferro aut fuga exstinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris quam potentiae addidit. Quae res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singulatim aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus, quam res maturius me deseret. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

XLIII. Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri foedam fugam Q. Metellus et M. Silanus, consules designati, provincias inter se partiverant, Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro et quamquam adverso populi partium fama tamen aequabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, praesidia undique arcessere, arma, tela, equos, et cetera instrumenta militiae parare, ad hoc commeatum affatim; denique omnia, quae bello vario et multarum rerum egentis usui esse solent. Ceterum ad ea patranda senati auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, et reges ultro auxilia mittere; postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur magna spe civium, quum propter bonas artes, tum maxime, quod adversum divitias invictum animum gerebat, et avaritia magistratum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae, hostiumque auctae erant.

XLIV. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur Sp. Albini proconsulis iners, imbellis, neque

periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator ex sociis et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam ex copia militum auxilii aut spei bonae accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventus civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum adtingere, quam majorum disciplina milites laborare coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade percussus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit plerumque milites stativis castris habebat, nisi quum odos aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque muniebantur ea, neque more militari vigiliae deducebantur; uti cuique lubebat ab signis aberat. Lixae permixti cum militibus die noctuque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio et aliis talibus; praeterea frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari; postremo, quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaeque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior, tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviae sustulisse, "ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet; ne lixae exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris neve in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet:"

ceteris arte modum statuisset: praeterea transversis itineribus quotidie castra movere; juxta ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigiliis crebras ponere, et ipse cum legatis circumire: item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis, magis quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.

XLVI. Interea Jugurtha, ubi, quae Metellus agebat ex nunciis accepit simul de innocentia ejus certior Romae factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio diversos adgreditur; ac, paulatim tentando, postquam opportunos cognovit, multa pollicendo, persuadet, "uti Jugurtham, maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent:" ceterum palam, quae ex voluntate forent regi, nunciari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit; ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant: ex oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, comneatum portare, postremo omnia, quae imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui

credere, et insidiis locum tentari. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat; in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat; in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, uti cum his permixti velites, quacumque accederent equitatus hostium, propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiae erat, uti, absens an praesens pacem an bellum gerens perniciosior esset in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum; ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul, simul tentandi gratia et, si paterentur, opportunitate loci praesidium imposuit; praeterea imperavit frumentum et alia, quae bello usui forent, comportare; ratus, id quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatum juvaturum exercitum, et jam pacatis rebus munimento fore. Inter haec negotia Jugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, praeter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat: regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se suis artibus tentari animadvertit; quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxima alienata, ager hostibus

cognitus, animi popularium tentati; coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci quam maximas copias potest omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum xx., tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac myrtetis aliisque generibus arborum, quae humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planities deserta penuria aquae, praeter flumini propinqua loca: ea consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

XLIX. Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit; elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit, eumque edocet, quae ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos collocat. Dein singulas turmas atque manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, "uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum, mutatum: quae ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa; locum superiorem, uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent; proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere; illum diem aut omnes labores et victorias

confirmaturum, aut maximarum aerumnarum initium fore." Ad hoc viritum, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare; postremo pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitando, obtestando alium alio modo excitare; quum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicatur; primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet (nam inter virgulta equi Numidaeque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti, quidnam esset, cum natura loci, tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati), dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper agmen constituit. Ibi, commutatis ordinibus in dextero latere, quod proximum hostes erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit; equitatum omnem in cornibus locat, ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transversis principiis, in planum deducit.

L. Sed, ubi Numidas quietos neque colle degredi animadvertit, veritus ex anni tempore et inopia aquae, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet, existimans, hostes crebro impetu et transversis praeliis iter suum remoratorios, et quoniam armis diffident, lassitudinem et sitim militum tentatorios. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere; Marium post principia habere; ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos praetergressum videt praesidio quasi duum

millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus adversariis receptui ac post munimento foret: dein repente, signo dato, hostes invadit. Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare; quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant ludificati incerto praelio ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriendi aut manum conserendi copia erat. Antea jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turba insequi coeperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxime diversi. Ita numero priores si ab persequendo hostes deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi fuerant, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebant.

LI. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, foeda, atque miserabilis; dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi; neque signa neque ordines observare; ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare; arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti; nihil consilio neque imperio agi; fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, quum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Deniquè omnibus labore et aestu languidis, Metellus, ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortes legionarias quatuor adversum pedites hostium collocat. Eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostes fugientes vincere; neque

illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum quo cedentes tenderent : in armis omnia sita." Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus ; circumire, hortari, renovare proelium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia ; subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant ; ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus adversus ; Jugurthae alia omnia praeter milites opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intelligunt neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, et jam die vesper erat ; adverso colle, sicuti praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco Numidae fusi fugatique : pauci interiere ; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paullatim suos in aequum locum deducit ; ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat, festinans pergat, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat, neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedissee jam et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthae proelio clamorem augeri, veritus ne legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arcte statuerat, quo hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit, eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. Romani ex improvise pulveris vim magnam animadvertunt, nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat ; et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari post ubi aequabilem manere, et sicuti acies move-

batur magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidae tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt, ac plerique, abjectis armis colles aut noctis, quae jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et proelio fessi lassique erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt; nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes, adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere; et paene imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur pro metu repente gaudium exortum; milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt; sua quisque fortia facta ad caelum ferre. Quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet; adversae res etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. Metellus in isdem castris quatruiduo moratus saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat, universos in concione laudat atque agit gratias; hortatur, ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant; pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum habe-

ret, uti sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat; ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam belli cultorem. Id ea gratia eveniebat, quod praeter regiones equites nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt; neque id flagitium militiae ducitur; ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum ferocem esse; bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubricitate geri non posset; praeterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere; statuit non proeliis neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in Numidiae loca opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut sine praesidio capit incenditque; puberes interfici jubet, alia omnia militum praedam esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quae usui forent, adfatim praebita; ubicumque res postulabat, praesidium impositum. Quae negotia multo magis quam proelium male pugnatum ab suis regem terrebant; quippe, cui spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogeatur, et qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia quod optimum videbatur consilium capit; exercitum plerumque in iisdem locis opperiri jubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur; nocturnis et avii itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantes repente adgreditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus profugit, et Numidiae prius quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos colles discedunt.

LV. Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitum Metelli rebus; ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret, in adverso loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset, hostium agro potiretur, Jugurtham magnificentum ex Auli secordia spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus supplicia decernere, civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu laeta agere, de Metello fama praeclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare; cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret, meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita, quo clarior, eo magis animi anxius erat, neque post insidias Jugurthae effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam praeda, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant; ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, diversi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per colles sequi, tempus aut locum pugnae quaerere, qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontes, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere, modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere, postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in colles regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque proelium facere, neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit oppugnare; ratus, id quod ne-

gotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique proelium fore. At ille, quae parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit, oppidanos hortatur, moenia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat; praeterea pollicetur in tempore semet cum exercitu affire. Ita compositis rebus in loca quam maxime occulta discedit, ac post paullo cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum; quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta puguam facit; simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, "uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant; fortunam praeclari facinoris casum dare; si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos." Ac ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidae agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini, paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

LVII. Marius ad Zamam pervenit: id oppidum, in campo situm, magis opere quam natura munitum erat; nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit; legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret; deinde signo dato undique simul clamor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: proelium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere,

ac murum modo subfodere, modo scalis aggredi; cupere proelium [in] manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere, sudes, pila, praeterea pice et sulphure taedam mixtam ardenti mittere. Sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat; nam plerosque jacula tormentis aut manu emissa vulnerabant; parique periculo, sed fama impari boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in praesidio erant, et omnia magis quam proelium exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt; alii fugere, alii arma capere; magna pars vulnerati, aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis Romani grege facto locum cepere paullo quam alii editiorem: neque inde maxima vi depelli quiverunt, sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrati; sin Numidae propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere et eos maxima vi caedere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus, quum acerrime rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit; deinde converso equo animadvertit fugam ad se versum fieri; quae res indicabat populares esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere mittit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque, lacrimans, per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostes inultos abire sinat: ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, quum alii super vallum praecipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes

officerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revertitur.

LIX. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppug-
nandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte,
qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet;
portas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit; deinde ipse
pergit ad oppidum atque, ut superiore die, murum
aggreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente
nostros invadit: qui in proximo locati fuerant, paul-
lisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito subveniunt.
Neque diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites
cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu
facerent: quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri praelio
solet, sequi, dein cedere; sed adversis equis concurrere,
implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus
suis hostes paene victos dare.

LX. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi cer-
tabatur. Ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat,
eo acerrime niti; neque alius in alio magis quam in
sese spem habere; pariterque oppidani agere, oppug-
nare, aut parare omnibus locis, avidius alteri alteros
sauciare, quam semet tegere; clamor permixtus hor-
tatione, laetitia, gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad
caelum ferri; tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui moe-
nia defensabant, ubi hostes paullum modo pugnam
remiserant, intenti proelium equestre prospectabant:
eos, uti quaeque Jugurthae res erant, laetos modo,
modo pavidos, animadverteres; ac, sicuti audiri a suis
aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu
significare, aut niti corporibus, et ea huc illuc, quasi
vitabundi aut jacentes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario

cognitum est (nam is in ea parte curabat), consulto lenius agere ac diffidentiam rei simulare; pati Numidas sine tumultu regis proelium visere. Ita illis studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi murum aggreditur: et jam scalis aggressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere; deinde, ubi unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supersteterant afflicti sunt; ceteri, quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti vulneribus, abeunt. Denique utrimque proelium nox diremit

LXI. Metellus postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit, et in his urbibus, quae ad se defecerant satisque munitae loco aut moenibus erant, praesidia imponit. Ceterum exercitum in provinciam, quae proxima est Numidiae, hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti aut luxuriae concedit, sed quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde vadibus datis clam de Massivae nece iudicium fugerat, quod ei per maximam amicitiam maxima copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat; deinde, fide data, "si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia concederet," facile Numidae persuadet, quum ingenio infido, tum metuenti ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per condiciones ad supplicium traderetur.

LXII. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet atque lacrimans obtestatur, "uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum, optime merenti, provideat; omnibus procliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortales captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse; satis saepe jam et virtutem militum et fortunam tentatam; caveat ne illo cunctante Numidae sibi consulant." His atque talibus aliis ad deditioem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent, ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis accersiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum ex consilii decreto per legatos Jugurthae imperat argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnes, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnes perfugas victos adduci; eorum magna pars, ut jussum erat, adducti; pauci, quum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretanium abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, quum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit flectere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis, quum modo taedio rerum adversarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret, multis magnisque praesidiis nequidquam perditis de integro bellum sumit. Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias diis supplicanti “ magna atque mirabilia portendi ” haruspex dixerat : “ proinde quae animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam saepissime experiretur ; cuncta prospera eventura. ” At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat ; ad quem capiendum praeter vetustatem familiae alia omnia abunde erant ; industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia ; animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubricitatis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae avidus. Sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum aetas militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis faciendis, non Graeca facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit : ita inter artes bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus per omnes tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit ; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, uti ampliore, quam gerebat dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir (nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est), petere non audebat : etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat : novus nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore, et quasi pollutus, haberetur.

LXIV. Igitur ubi Marius haruspici dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petendi gratia missionem rogat : cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis, superabant, tamen inerat contentor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam mo-

nere, “ne tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret; non omnia omnibus cupienda esse; debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur.” Postquam haec atque alia talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, “ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese quae peteret.” Ac postea saepius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, “ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum.” Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter xx. Quae res Marium, quum pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum, vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessimis consultoribus, grassari; neque factò ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret; milites, quibus in hibernis praeerat, laxiore imperio, quam antea habere; apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, criminose simul et magnifice de bello loqui: “dimidia pars exercitus sibi permetteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet.” Quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiares corruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. Erat praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento sceundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus et ob eam caussam mente paullum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti more regum uti sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiae caussa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque nega-

verat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset; praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium aggreditur, atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum imperatoris cum suo auxilio poenas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: "illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum: id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret." Itaque et illum et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione consulatus petebatur: simul ea tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. Interim Jugurtha, postquam omnia deditione bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum; civitates, quae ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando praemia, affectare; communire suos locos; arma, tela, alia, quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari; servitia Romanorum allicere, et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia tentare; prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pati; cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciiis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: nam vulgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum no-

varum rerum, quieti et otio adversum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum praefectum oppidi T. Turpilius Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant; eos omnes, praeter Turpilius, inter epulas obtruncant; postea milites palantes, inermes, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, aggrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, queis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.

LXVII. Romani milites, improvise metu incerti ignarique quid potissimum facerent, trepidare; ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant, praesidium hostium; portae ante clausae fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia, quae locus praebebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque a fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse; juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles, inulti obtruncati. In ea tanta asperitate, saevissimis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius praefectus unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus. Id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione aut casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita fama integra potior, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

LXVIII. Metellus postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, paullisper moestus e conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira et aegritudo permixta sunt, cum maxima cura ultimum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiem-

abat, et quam plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit, et postera die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine et jam abnuentes omnia docet, "oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse; decere illos reliquum laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, poenas caperent:" praeterea praedam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo late, pedites quam artissime ire et signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. Vagenses ubi animum advertere ad se versum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum rati, portas clausere; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii vulgum effusum oppido caedere; alii ad portas festinare; pars tures capere; ira atque praedae spes amplius, quam lassitudo, posse. Ita Vagenses biduum modo ex perfidia laetati: civitas magna et opulens poenae cuncta aut praedae fuit. Turpilius, quem praefectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello caussam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque capite poenas solvit: nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. Per idem tempus Bomilear, ejus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere; ad perniciem ejus dolum quaerere; diu noctuque fatigare animum. Denique, omnia tentando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opi-

bus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis; qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare, et omnes res exsequi solitus erat, quae Jugurthae fesso aut majoribus adstricto superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: caetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager inultis hostibus vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris percussus, ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impediēbat, Bomilcar, simul cupidus incepta patrāndi, et timore socii anxius, ne omisso veterē consilio novum quaceret, litteras ad eum per homines fideles mittit, in quēis, “mollitiem secordiamque viri accusare: testari deos, per quos juravisset: monere ne praemia Metelli in pestem converteret: Jugurthae exitium adesse; ceterum suane an Metelli virtute periret, id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, praemia an cruciatum mallet.”

LXXI. Sed quum hae litterae allatae, forte Nabdalsa exercito corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris verbis primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam, negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissimi, particeps. Qui postquam allatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus opera et ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit; dormiente illo, epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit; dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa post paullo expectatus, ubi neque epistolam repperit, et rem omnem, uti acta erat, cognovit, primo indicem

persequi conatus ; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit ; dicit, “ quae ipse paravisset facere, perfidia clientis sui praeventa ” ; lacrimans obtestatur, “ per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet. ”

LXXII. Ad ea rex, aliter atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis iram oppreserat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit ; neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori, satis credere ; cives, hostes, juxta metuere ; circumspectare omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere ; alio atque alio loco, saepe contra decus regium, noctu requiescere ; interdum, somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum facere ; ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari.

LXXIII. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus tamquam ad integrum bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectioe, simul et invitum et offensum sibi parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romae plebes, litteris, quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitae, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori, invidiae esse : at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat : ceterum in utroque magis studia partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata sunt. Praeterea seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium,

et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita percussa nobilitate post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur; et postea populus a tribuno plebis Manilio Mancino rogatus, quem vellet cum Jugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium jussit. Sed senatus paullo ante Metello Numidiam decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

LXXIV. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant; quum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabat; neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat; itinera praefectosque in dies mutare; modo adversum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere; saepe in fuga, ac post paullo spem in armis habere dubitare, virtuti popularium an fide minus crederet: ita, quocumque intenderat, res adversae erant. Sed inter eas moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique: dein proelium incipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum; ceteri ejus milites primo concursu pulsati fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidas in omnibus proeliis pedes magis quam arma tuta sunt.

LXXV. Ea fuga Jugurtha, impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiae cultus erat. Quae postquam Me-

tello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum, spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnes asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levare jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem; ceterum utres modo et alia aquae idonea portare. Praeterea conquirat ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris; eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitimis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae portarent; diem locumque, ubi praesto fuerint, praedicat. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximam oppido aquam supra diximus, jumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde, ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente caelo missa vis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Praeterea commeatus spe amplior; quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditioe, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthae, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re percussi, nihilo segnius bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

LXXVI. Sed rex nihil jam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam ceteris imperitantem industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido

noctu profugit; neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno die aut una nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratia properare; ceterum prodicionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia per otium et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit. Deinde locis ex copia maxime idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere, et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra haec oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore proeliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti: praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri resque suas afflietas vident, aurum atque argentum et alia, quae prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque et domum et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere.

LXXVII. Sed pariter eum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, "uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret; Hamilcarem quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; adversum quem neque imperia magistratum, neque leges valerent; ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore." Nam Leptiani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem et postea Roman miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum: deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino

Metelloque imperata gnave fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile quae petebant adepti, et missae eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor et C. Annius praefectus.

LXXVIII. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civiles navibus in eos locos venisse; ceterum situm inter duas Syrtes, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura: quorum proxima terrae praecalta sunt; cetera uti fors tulit alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse et saevire ventis coepit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. [Syrtes ab tractu nominatae.] Ejus civitatis lingua modo conversa conubio Numidarum; leges cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

LXXIX. Sed quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraeque Africae imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie; neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui fines eorum discerneret; quae res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes fusae fugataeque, et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant, veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius aggrediretur, per inducias sponsionem faciunt, "uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is

communis utriusque populi finis haberetur." Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id secordiane an causa accideret, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi per loca aequalia et nuda gignentium ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata ora oculosque implere solet; ita prospectu impedito morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident, et ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuunt, criminari Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos conturbare rem, denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed, quum Poeni aliam condicionem, tantummodo aequam, peterent, Graeci optionem Carthaginiensibus faciunt, "ut vel illi, quos fines populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem condicione sese quem in locum vellent processuros." Philaeni condicione probata, seque vitamque reipublicae condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras consecravere; alique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. Jugurtha postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit, ac paullatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Praeterea regis Bocchi proximos magnis muneribus et majoribus promissis ad studium sui perducit; queis adjutoribus regem aggressus impellit, uti

adversum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, foedus et amicitiam petatum; quam rem opportunissimam incepto bello, pauci impediverant, caeci avaritia, queis omnia, honesta atque inhonesta, vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthae filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur; quod singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed reges eo amplius. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur; nulla pro socia obtinet; pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt; ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: "Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia, communes omnium hostes esse: eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi; queis omnia regna adversa sint: tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginienses, item regem Persen, post uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore." His atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt, quod ibi Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut capta urbe operae pretium fore, aut si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, proelio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere, ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

LXXXII. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti saepe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit; ceterum haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis

reges opperitur; melius ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam: nam consulem factum ante acceperat. Queis rebus supra bonum atque honestum percussus, neque lacrimas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus nimis molliter aegritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vertebant: alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse; multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur; nobis satis cognitum est, illum magis honore Marii quam injuria sua, excruciatum, neque tam anxieturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

LXXXIII. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit postulatum: "ne sine caussa hostis populo Romano fieret; habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque conjungendae, quae potior bello esset; quamquam opibus confideret, non debere incerta pro certis mutare; omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrime desinere; non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse: incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo, licere; deponi, quum victores velint: proinde sibi regnoque consuleret, neu florentes res suas cum Jugurthae perditis misceret." Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: "sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthae fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura." Rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit: ille probare, partim abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis tempus procedere, et ex Metelli voluntate, bellum intactum trahi.

LXXXIV. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, ante jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox instare; singulos modo, modo universos laedere; dictitare "sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse;" alia praeterea magna pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quae bello opus erant, prima habere; postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcescere; praeterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos accire, et ambiendo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam adversus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat, quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli usum aut studia vulgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujuscemodi, animis trahebant: et eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arrepperat. Nam postquam, omnibus quae postulaverat decretis, milites scribere vult, hortandi causa, simul et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium a vobis petere et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere; primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse; deinde per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere. Sed mihi contra ea videtur; nam quo universa respublica pluris est quam consulatus aut praetura, eo majore cura illam administrari quam haec

peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare simul, et aerario parcere; cogere ad militiam eos quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantes, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum fortia facta, cognatorum et affinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est et virtute et innocentia tutari: nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intelligo, Quirites, omnium ora in me conversa esse; acquos bonosque favere: quippe bene facta mea reipublicae procedunt: nobilitatem locum invadendi quaerere. Quo mihi acrius annitendum est, ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, ut omnes labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quae ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti accepta mercede deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere; mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optimis artibus egi, bene facere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas aegerrime tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendii: scilicet, ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. Ita plerumque evenit, ut quem vos imperare jussistis, is sibi imperatorem alium quaerat. Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam consules facti

sunt, acta majorum, et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint; homines praeposteri. Nam gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quae illi audire et legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi literis, ego militando didici. Nunc vos existimate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur; quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existimo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum. Ac si jam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi sese liberos quam optimos voluisse? Quod si jure me despiciunt, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Nae illi falsi sunt, qui diversissimas res pariter exspectant, ignaviae voluptatem et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam quum apud vos aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt; eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant. Quod contra est: nam quanto vita illorum praeclarior, tanto horum secordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verum, id quod multo praeclarior est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte,

quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi arrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corripisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed in maximo vestro beneficio quum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio laedere potest: quippe vera necesse est bene praedicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed, quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et maximum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum poenitendum sit. Non possum fidei caussa imagines, neque triumphos aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona; praeterea, cicatrices adverso corpore. Hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae ego plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. Non sunt composita verba mea; parum id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus est, uti turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optima reipublicae doctus sum; hostem ferire, praesidia agitare; nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam; hiemem et aestatem juxta pati; humi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego praeceptis milites hortabor: neque illos arte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam.

Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, quum tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est, dominum, non imperatorem, esse. Haec atque talia majores vestri faciendo seque remque publicam celebravere: quae nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos contemnit; et omnes honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quae licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram: virtutem non reliquere, neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum quam villicum habeo; quae mihi lubet confiteri. Nam ex parente meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae, quam divitiarum esse; arma, non suppellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo quod juvat, quod carum aestimant, id semper faciant; ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem, et alia talia, relinquunt nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessimae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil officium; reipublicae innoxiae cladi sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia posebant, respondi, pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites. Nam quae ad hoc tempus

Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus quam felix. Nam magna pars ejus avaritia aut temeritate ducum attrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris est aetas, annitimini mecum et capessite rempublicam; neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in proelio, consultor idem et socius periculi vobiscum adero; meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto dis juvantibus omnia matura sunt, victoria, praeda, laus; quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnes bonos reipublicae subvenire decebat. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus, neque quisquam parens liberis uti aeterni forent optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

LXXXVI. Hujusmodi oratione habita Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, prope com meatu, stipendio, armis, aliis utilibus naves onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis, memorabant, quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat; et homini potentiam quaerenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua curae, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum majore aliquanto numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus

ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quae audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. Sed consul, expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur: omnia ibi capta militibus donat; dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita aggreditur: proelia multa, ceterum levia alia, aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse; videre fugientes capi, occidi; fortissimum quemque tutissimum; armis libertatem, patriam, parentesque et alia omnia tegi; gloriam atque divitias quaeri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium aequalis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, diversi in locos difficiles abeunt. Ita Jugurthae placuerat, speranti mox effusos hostes invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros.

LXXXVIII. Metellus interea Romam profectus contra spem suam laetissimis animis excipitur; plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter attendere; cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra, esset; explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias antevenire; nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gaetulos et Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris praedam agentes, saepe aggressus in itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. Quae postquam gloriosa modo, neque belli patrandi, cognovit, statuit urbes, quae viris aut loco pro hostibus et adversum se opportunissimae erant, singulas circumvenire: ita

Jugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut proelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum saepe miserat, “ velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret.” Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

LXXXIX. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire; partim vi, alia metu aut praemia ostentando avertere ab hostibus. Ac primo medio-cria gerebat, existimans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi illum procul abesse et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, majora et magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est. Erat inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissimi habebantur, muniti adversum hostes non moenibus modo et armis atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam praeter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus; quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior; ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa pernicioosa, siti magis quam alia re accenditur. Ejus potiendi Marium maxima cupido invaserat, quum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque, nisi quod apud Thalam haud longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum, jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique et in omni Africa, quae procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina

carne vesebantur, neque salem neque alia irritamenta gulae quaerebant; cibus illis adversum famem atque sitim, non lubidini neque luxuriae erat.

XC. Igitur consul, omnibus exploratis, credo dis fretus (nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidae pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student, et, quodcumque natum fuerat jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam aestatis extremum erat); tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat; pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum attribuit, A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet; se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. Ceterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas aequaliter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat; simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et ignaris omnibus parare, quae mox usui forent. Denique sexto die, quum ad flumen ventum est, maxima vis utrium effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse jubet omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto consedit: idem proxima facit: dein tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum millium intervallo; ibique

quam occultissime potest cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed ubi dies coepit, et Numidae, nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi, repente omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam et portas obsidere, jubet; deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites praedari sinere. Quae postquam oppidani cognovere, res trepidae, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate, coëgere, uti deditioem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum; Numidae puberes interfecti; alii omnes venum dati; praeda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli non avaritia neque scelere consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio neque metu coërcitum.

XCII. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit, magnus et clarus antea, major et clarior haberi coepit. Omnia, non bene consulta modo, verum etiam casu data in virtutem trahebantur; milites, modesto imperio habiti simul et locupletes, ad caelum ferre; Numidae magis quam mortalem timere; postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere, illi aut mentem divinam esse, aut deorum nutu cuneta portendi. Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit, pauca repugnantibus Numidis capit, plura, deserta propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque caede omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha,

quod Jugurthae Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura, velut opere atque consulto, praeceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quam consilio melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquae, aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus importunus, iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum. Vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agitabantur: nam quum eae paullum processerant, igni aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare; optimus quisque cadere, aut sauciari; ceteris metus augeri.

XCIII. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere cum animo suo omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus fuerat. Quae quum multos dies noctesque aestuans agitare, forte quidam Ligus ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod aversum proeliantibus erat, animum advertit inter saxa repentes cochleas: quarum quum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legendi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more humani ingenii cupido difficilia facienda animum vertit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paullum modo prona, deinde flexa atque aucta in

altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert; ejus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus castelli planitiem perscribit; quod cuncti Numidæ intenti proeliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, uti escenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse escenderat, castellum tenet; pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa ejus cognitum, ex præsentibus misit; quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consulis animus tamen paululum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit, et eum his, præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones, omnesque Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

XCIV. Sed ubi ex præcepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi, qui ascensuri erant, prædocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverunt, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret; super terga gladii et scuta, verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul, et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus saxa et si quæ vetustate radices eminebant laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati facilius escenderent; interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu, ubi paullo asperior ascensus, singulos præ se inermes mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi, quæ dubia nisu videbantur, potissimus tentare, ac sæpius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam

addere. Igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, adversum hostes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis quae Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos proelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine aeta succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidae saepe antea vineis Romanorum subversis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthae servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus, Romanis hostibusque, proelio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere; ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae, certantes murum petere, neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

XCV. Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit; quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret Romae relictus erat. Sed, quoniam tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est, de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere; neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus; et L. Sisenna, optime et diligentissime omnium, qui eas res dixere

persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope jam extincta majorum ignavia; litteris Graecis atque Latinis juxta atque doctissime eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior, otio luxurioso esse; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli; facundus, callidus, et amicitia facilis; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis; multarum rerum ac maxime pecuniae largitor. Atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavere, fortior an felicior esset: nam postea quae fecerit incertum habeo pudeat magis an pigeat disserere.

XCVI. Igitur Sulla, ut supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benigne appellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam aes mutuum reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere, magis id laborare ut illi quam plurimi deberent; joca atque seria cum humillimis agere; in operibus, in agmine, atque ad vigiliis multus adesse, neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis, aut cujusquam boni, famam laedere; tantummodo neque consilio neque manu priorem alium pati; plerosque antevenire. Quois rebus et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utiles, simul et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios

mittit, "quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret; proelii faciendi tempus adesse." Quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere, rursus, uti antea, proximos ejus donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut integris suis finibus bellum compositum foret. Eo praemio illectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto Marium, jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decima parte die reliqua, invadunt, rati noctem, quae jam aderat, et victis sibi munimento fore, et si vicissent nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant; contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant; et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie neque ullo more proelii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt; qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientes alios ab hostibus defensabant; pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus; pugna latrocinio magis quam proelio similis fieri; sine signis, sine ordinibus, equites pedites permixti caedere alios, alios obtruncare, multos, contra adversos acerrime pugnantes, ab tergo circumvenire; neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures ut undique circumfusi; denique Romani veteres [novique], et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus conjunxerat,

orbis facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio ter-ritus Marius aut magis, quam antea, demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis quam familiarissimis paraverat, vagari passim, ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostes, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Jamque dies consumptus erat, quum tamen barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, colles duos propinquos inter se occupat; quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus et praeceps pauca munimenta quaerebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet; ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit; dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges loci difficultate coacti, proelio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed utroque colle multitudine circumdato effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis plerumque noctis barbari suo moro laetari, exsultare, strepere vocibus, et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerent, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editoribus locis facilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. Plurimum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus quam maximum silentium haberi jubet; ne signa quidem, uti per vigiliis solebant, canere.

Deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus et paullo ante somno captis, de improvise vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnes signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quidquam poterant; ita cunctos, strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore formido quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique, arma et signa militaria pleraque capta, pluresque eo proelio, quam omnibus superioribus, interemti; nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. Dein Marius, uti coeperat, in hiberna proficiscitur; quae propter comneatum in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat; neque tamen victoria secors aut insolens factus; sed pariter atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos, in sinistra A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortes Ligurum curabat; primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugae, minime cari et regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant: simul consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere; apud omnes adesse; laudare, increpare merentes. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogeabat; neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire, excubitum in portas cohortes ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliosos mittere; praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum, quae imperavisset, quam uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius

illo et aliis temporibus Jugurthini belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant, pars, quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset: nisi tamen res publica, pariter ac saevissimo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. Igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt, qua re hostes adesse intelligitur. Sed quia diversi redeunt, alius ab alia parte atque omnes ideim significabant, consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, adversum omnia paratus ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partes distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus aequae aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis ipse aliique Mauros invadunt, ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et si qui in manus venerant obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites proeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, affuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis erat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convertit; ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: "nostros frustra pugnare; paullo ante Marium sua manu interfectum;" simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna satis impigre occiso pedite nostro cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites acceperunt, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuncii

terrentur: simulque barbari animos tollere, et in percussos Romanos acrius incedere. Jamque paullum ab fuga aberant, quum Sulla, profligatis iis, quos adversum ierat, Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statim avertitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius fugatis equitibus occurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus; sequi, fugere, occidi, capi; equi, viri afflicti, ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. Postea loci consul haud dubie jam victor pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo post diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, "duo quam fidissimos ad eum mitteret: velle de suo et de populi Romani commodo cum iis disserere." Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere, uti ingenium aut aversum flecterent, aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiae, non aetati, a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujusmodi locutus: "Rex Bocche, magna nobis laetitia est, quum te talem virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem quam bellum malles, neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis de-

meres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem et illum sceleratissimum persequi. Ad hoc populo Romano jam a principio [inopi] melius visum, amicos quam servos quaerere; tutiusque rati volentibus quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia; primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offensae minimum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus; dein, quod parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis neque cuiquam omnium satis. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset! profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpessus es. Sed, quoniam humanarum rerum Fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuisse te et vim et gratiam nostram experiri, nunc, quando per illam licet, festina atque ut coepisti perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officii superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, nunquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum: nam, bello quid valeat, tute scis." Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit: "se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum, arma cepisse: nam Numidiae partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse; praeterea, missis antea Roman legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum." Dein, copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

CIII. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus

proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnes praesidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quae sibi duobus proeliis venerant, seu admonitus ab amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque deligit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam, legatos ire jubet; agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli componendi, licentiam permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deinde, in itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro praetore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed accurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam, et Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignara, munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens, dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit; copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui, et alia, quae aut utilia aut benevolentiae esse credebant, oratione extollunt; dein, Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum, verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiantur.

CIV. Marius postquam, confecto, quo intenderat, negotio, Cirtam redit, de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam ab Utica venire jubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem, praeterea omnes undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab con-

sule: interea induciae postulabantur. Ea Sullae et plerisque placuere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in adversa mutantur. Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus, quum cetera, tum maximé benignitatem et studium Sullae, lubens acceperit. Romae legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthae scelere lapsum deprecati sunt, amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur: "Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et injuriae memor esse solet: ceterum Boccho, quoniam poenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit."

CV. Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; ejus arbitrato de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum, item funditorum Balearium; praeterea sagittarii, et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa, neque his secus atque aliis armis adversum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere, quinto denique die, Volux filius Bocchi repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit; qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorum vero et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur sese quisque expedire, arma atque tela tentare, intendere: timor aliquantus sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et adversum eos, quos saepe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum praemissi, rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

CVI. Volux adveniens quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, et praesidio, missum. Deinde cum et proximum diem sine metu conjuncti cunt. Post ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto vultu ad Sullam accurrit dicitque sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse; simul uti noctu clam secum profugeret rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat "se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere; virtuti suorum satis credere; etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis quos ducebat turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paullo morbo interiturae vitae parceret." Ceterum ab eodem monitus uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium approbat, ac statim milites coenatos esse, in castris ignes quam creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, quum equites Mauri nunciant Jugurtham circiter duum millium intervallo ante eos consedissee. Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere se proditos a Voluce, et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existimabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, "uti fortem animum gererent: saepe antea paucis strenuis adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in proelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maximo metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hostes vertere." Deinde

Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem Maximum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire jubet. Ille lacrimans orare, “ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Jugurthae, cui, videlicet speculanti, iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, credere, illum nihil palam ausurum, quum ipse filius testis adesset: quare optimum factum videri, per media ejus castra palam transire: sese, vel praemissis vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum.” Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata; ac statim profecti, quia de improvviso acciderant, dubio atque haesitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum.

CVIII. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat, praemissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia; praeterea Dabar, Massugrae filius, ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar (nam pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat), Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque; quem Bocchus, fidum esse Romanis multis antea tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, “paratum sese facere, quae populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus, ipse deligeret: consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere: neu Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret quo res communis licentius gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse.” Sed ego comperior Bocchum magis Punica fide, quam ob ea quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis attinuisse, multumque

cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam, traderet; lubidinem adversum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

CIX. Igitur Sulla respondit, "pauca se coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occulte, aut nullo, aut quam paucissimis praesentibus;" simul edocet, quae sibi responderentur. Postquam sicuti voluerat congressi, dicit, "se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem an bellum agitaturus foret." Tum rex, uti praeceptum fuerat, post diem decimum redire jubet; ac, nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum. Deinde ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur; ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur; praeterea Dabar internuncius, sanctus vir, et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit:

CX. "Numquam ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maximus in hac terra et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigni. Id imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor; fuerit mihi [pretium] eguisse aliquando amicitiae tuae, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere; et, quoad vives, numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit: denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego aestimo, regem armis quam munificentia vinci minus flagitiosum. Ceterum de re publica vestra, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum umquam volui; fines meos adver-

sum armatos armis tutatus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet; gerite, uti vultis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Praeterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice; de pace et de communibus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefecit, "quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros: faciendum aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua retulisse videretur; id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthae copiam haberet; quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, uti illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultro adventuram." Rex primo negitare: "adfinitatem, cognationem, praeterea foedus intervenisse; ad hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide usus, popularium animos averteret, queis et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi erant." Denique, saepius fatigatus, lenitur, et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissimus, quae utilia visa, constituunt. Ita composito dolo digrediuntur.

CXII. At rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthae legatum, appellat, dicitque "sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse condicionibus bellum poni; quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret." Ille laetus in castra Jugurthae venit. Deinde, ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei nunciat "Jugurtham cupere omnia, quae imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum fidere: saepe

antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. Ceterum si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet; quum talem virum in potestate haberet, tum fore, uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani foedus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, non sua ignavia sed ob rempublicam, in hostium potestate relictum iri."

CXIII. Haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi adversae. Postea tempore et loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter laeti, ac spei bonae pleni. Sed nocte ea, quae proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis, ac statim, immutata voluntate, remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, vultu corporis pariter atque animo varius; quae scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam accersiri jubet, et ex ejus sententia Numidae insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro, quasi obviis honoris caussa procedit in tumulum facillimum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat, accedit; ac statim signo dato undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obruncati: Ju-

gurtha Sullae vincetus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

CXIV. Per idem tempus adversum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Q. Caepione et M. Manlio male pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique et inde ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere, alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare. Sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et Jugurtham vincetum adduci Romam, nunciatum est, Marius consul absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia; isque Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

1. **Falso queritur de natura sua]** It deserves to be remarked, as a proof of the nicety of ear cultivated by the Romans, that Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* ix. 4. 77) complains of the first clause of this sentence as being *ἔνρρθμος*, rhythmical. He has been pointing out some instances of metrical clauses occurring in prose composition, and goes on to say, *nec minore autem cura vitandum est quicquid ἔνρρθμον quale est apud Sallustium, falso queritur de natura sua.* Such nice perceptions had been lost in the time of the grammarian Diomedes. He observes, Sallustium quoque dicunt principio Jugurthae a rhythmo coepisse. Verum hoc totum genus reprehensionis ejusmodi est, ut si calumniatores istos audiamus sit conticescendum; quia nulla pars orationis in aliquam rhythmici aut metri speciem potest figurari. Putsch. *Gramm. Latin.* 464.

2. **Contra]** i. q. *e contrario, ex altera parte*, "on the contrary."

3. **Reputando...invenies]** "You will discover upon reflection."

4. **Sed dux]** Haec Stoicorum magniloquentiam sapiunt. Gerlach. Comp. Apuleius, *Apolog.* p. 486, *regalis animi pars, ratione pollens, verticem hominis velut arcem et regiam insedit.* *dux atque imperator*, "leader and ruler." The two words should be distinguished, but *dux* is often used for *imperator* in poetry for the sake of metre. Stat. *Sylv.* iii. 3. 52, Hanc (Romam) ducibus fraenare datum.

5. **Grassatur]** *Grassor*, frequent. from *gradior*, signifies 1. idling, lounging, hanging on or about; hence 2. applied to flatterers and parasites who fawn upon the great (*grassari anti-qui ponebant pro adulari.* Festus), to ruffians and footpads, who infest the highways; and 3. to undertaking, setting about any enterprise, in a good or bad sense, especially with zeal and resolution. The verb is generally intransitive, sometimes followed by *in* or *ad*: in poetical language it is used transitively, as Stat. *Theb.* viii. 571, *grassatus cuspidē turmas.*

6. **Pollens potensque]** *Pollens*, "abounding in strength;" *potens*, "efficient in the use of one's strength." Doederl. *Synon.* iv. 163. But such nice distinctions are not always observed. The phrase was probably familiar. Comp. Orell. *Inscript.* i. 303, *Herculi victori pollenti potenti invicto.*

7. **Ad inertiam...pessum datus est]** "He has sunk into sloth, &c." The accus. of a noun, perhaps, i. q. *βυθός*, "the bottom," used adverbially (subaud. *secundum*): *pessum dari* "to be sent to the bottom." The notion of its meaning, "cast under foot," as if connected with *pes*, is derived, perhaps, from the apparent similitude of the words.

8. **Usus...accusatur]** An *anacoluthon*: the construction in which the subject agrees with *usus* is dropped, and another commenced. Transl. "But if a man, ensnared by unworthy desires, has sunk into sloth and sensual voluptuousness, brief is his enjoyment of his pernicious appetites: his strength, his time, his talents, waste away through idleness, and then forsooth, the infirmity of nature bears the blame."

9. **Defluxere]** have come to an end. Comp. Senec. *De Brev. Vitae*, i. ubi vita per luxum ac negligentiam defluit... quam ire non intelleximus transisse sentimus. Hor. i. *Ep.* 2. 42, *Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis.*

10. **Auctores]** Scil. *culpa*, "The culprits themselves."

11. **Multum]** "In many cases;" "frequently."

12. **Neque regerentur, etc.]** *Homines* is the subject to the verbs *regerentur* and *regerent*. *Neque...et*: men would not, *on the one hand*, be ruled by, but would themselves rule over chance; and, *on the other*, would arrive at such a pitch of greatness, as instead of being mere mortals, to become in fame immortal.

CHAPTER II.

1. **Anima]** *Anima* is the principle of life: *animus*, of thought and will. So Nonius, v. 20, *animo sapimus, anima vivimus*. Here *anima* is used for *animus*, figuratively, as the vivifying principle of intelligence, which distinguishes man from the brutes. In the following clause, *animus* is employed more correctly.

2. **Praeclara facies]** "Remarkable beauty." *Facies* for beauty generally. Juv. x. 293, *Sed vetat optari faciem Lucretia qualem Ipsa habuit*. Lucan, x. 61, *facie Spartana nocenti*.

3. **Ut initium, sic finis est]** "As they have a beginning, so have they an end." Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 27, *justa omnia decora sunt, injusta contra ut turpia sic indecora*.

4. *Incorruptus*] i. e. *qui corrumpi nequit*. Tac. *Hist.* i. 35, Galba minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus; with the force of an adj. in *-bilis*.

5. *Corporis gaudiis*] Cicero, *de Fin.* ii. 4, restricts *gaudium* to mental pleasures, while *voluptas*, he says, may be used either of mind or body. But as Epicurus affirmed, that even the pleasures of the body were really referable to mental perceptions, he allows that, in this sense, the body can be said *gaudere*. *Tusc.* v. 33.

6. *Artes animi*] "Occupations which exercise the intellect."

CHAPTER III.

1. *Ex his*] "Of these occupations."

2. *Magistratus et imperia*] Those who held *magistratus*, scil. dictators, consuls, praetors, censors, &c., elected by the people at the *comitia centuriata*, had civil *imperium* of various kinds in the city, and were said *in imperio esse*; when any such officers went into the provinces, they exercised military *imperium* through a *lex curiata*, and were then said *cum imperio esse*.

3. *Honos*] In its technical sense, "civic distinction," i. q. *honores*. Liv. xlii. 22, quo die novi magistratus inituri erant honorem.

4. *Is fuit*] Scil. *is honos*. So Kritz reads, on the authority of several MSS. The more common reading is *jus* or *vis*, neither of which words gives a satisfactory sense.

5. *Utique*] So the MSS. generally, but omitted in most editions: the word implies *forsooth*, or, *as they think*.

6. *Patriam aut parentes*] Comp. *Catil.* 6, patriam parentesque armis tegere. *Jugur.* 87, armis patriam parentesque tegi, where *parentes* can only mean *parents*, or generally *relatives*. But *parentes* is used sometimes for *subjects*, i. q. *obedientes*: as *Jug.* 102, parentes abunde habemus, amicorum nunquam satis fuit. Here the disjunctive *aut* marks an opposition between the two objects, and *parentes* may best be construed "subjects."

7. *Importunum est*] "Is inconvenient, injurious." However much the usurper may employ his power to reform abuses, still the revolution by which he has risen will engender worse evils. These remarks are supposed to point to the usurpation of Caesar, or of the second Triumvirate.

8. **Quaerere**] i. q. *quaerendo consequi*. Comp. *Jugur.* 85, *haec sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, quae egomet plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi*; and again, 87, 89; Liv. xxv. 6.

9. **Gratificari**] The infin. depends upon the combined noun and verb *lubido tenet*, i. q. *juvat*. So *Catil.* 30, *quibus mos erat (i. e. qui solebant), vendere*. It is unnecessary to explain the infin. in these places as *put for the gerund*. *Decus gratificari*, i. q. *decus gratis concedere*, "to sacrifice honour and liberty."

CHAPTER IV.

1. **Ceterum**] "However, further," sometimes in opposition, sometimes in addition, to what has gone before; a word of very frequent occurrence in the *Jugurtha*.

2. **Quae ingenio exercentur**] i. e. *tractantur*, "which mind has to do with."

3. **Memoria**] Objectively, i. q. *memoratio*, "the narration."

4. **Per insolentiam**] "From vanity."

5. **Studium meum**] Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 43, evidently in imitation of this passage: *ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer*.

6. **Salutare plebem**] The candidate saluted and took by the hand, *prensavit*, the citizens whose votes he solicited. Comp. Liv. xxiii. 4, *Hinc senatores, omissa dignitatis libertatisque memoria, plebem adulari, salutare, benigne invitare, apparatus accipere epulis*. Cicero views the custom on its favourable side: *de Petit. Consul.* 7, *nam in caeteris molestiis habet hoc tamen petitio commodi, ut possis honeste, quod in cetera vita non queas, quoscumque velis adjungere ad amicitiam; quibuscum si alio tempore agas, ut te utantur, absurde facere videare; in petitione autem nisi id agas, et cum multis et diligenter, nullus petitor esse videare*. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* ii. 16. When Crassus sued for the consulship he feasted the whole Roman people at ten thousand tables.

7. **Quibus ego temporibus**] "The circumstances of the times under which I obtained offices." For the offices thus obtained by Sallust, see the Introduction, p. xi.

8. **Quae genera hominum**] "The class of people." Upon this point Sallust speaks with bitterness, having been himself ejected from the senate for imputed immorality by the censors, in the year 704. But he alludes particularly to the

foreigners, soldiers, and other unworthy characters, who were thrust into the order by Caesar. Comp. Suet. *Jul.* 80, Peregrinis in Senatum allectis libellus propositus est: bonum factum: ne quis Senatori novo curiam monstrare velit; &c.

9. **Q. Maximum]** Q. Fabius Maximus, surnamed Cunctator.

10. **P. Scipionem]** Scipio Africanus the elder, the most illustrious of the name.

11. **Imagines]** "The images:" i.e. waxen busts "of their ancestors." The busts of persons who had attained to curule magistracies were preserved in the family mansion (porticibus dispositis avos, Juv. vi. 163; exornent undique cerae atria, viii. 19), and displayed publicly at the funerals of their descendants. Hor. *Epod.* 8. 11:

Esto beata, funus atque imagines
Ducant triumphales tuum.

12. **Scilicet]** "Forsooth, they said," &c.

13. **Non ceram, neque figuram]** "Neither the material of wax, nor the likeness."

14. **Eorum famam]** "The renown of the former, i.e. of the ancestors." If there is any distinction here between the two words, *fama* may refer to the "extent," *gloria* to the "degree" of their reputation.

15. **His moribus]** "In the present condition of public virtue;" i.e. when public morals are so depraved. Comp. Liv. vi. 4, Capitolium...opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum. Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 2, quod munus reipublicae majus offerre possimus, quam si docemus atque erudimus juventutem, his praesertim moribus. So Lucan, ix. 190, makes Cato say of Pompey:

Civis obit multo majoribus impar
Nosse modum juris, sed in hoc tamen utilis aevo.

16. **Nobilitatem antevenire]** "To outstrip the nobles."

17. **Furtim et per latrocinia]** i.e. clandestinis insidiis, ut fures, et vim inferentes ut latrones. Dietsch.

18. **Altius]** i. q. *in mare altum*. "The wide open sea." So, naves in altum provectae, Caes. *B. Gall.* iv. 28.

19. **Redeo]** "I resume the intention I have professed of writing a history."

CHAPTER V.

1. *Varia victoria*] Abl. case, as in Justin, iv. 2, *diuque varia victoria cum tyrannis dimicatum*: "sometimes the Romans were victorious, sometimes the Numidians."

2. *Obviam itum est*] "Was opposed." Late writers used a verb *obviare*, as Macrob. *Sat.* vii. 2, *quibus obviamdum non erat*.

3. *Permiscuit*] Comp. Lucan, iii. 138:

Non usque adeo permiscuit imis
Longus summa dies, ut non si voce Metelli
Serventur leges, malint a Caesare tolli.

4. *Uti studiis civilibus, etc.*] "The vehemence of party strife resulted in war and the desolation of Italy." Lucan seems to have referred to this passage when about to write of Curio's African campaign. See *Phars.* iv. 687:

Nec tantum *studiis civilibus* arma parabat,
Privatae sed *bella* dabat Juba concitus irae.
Hunc quoque quo *superos humanaeque* polluit anno &c.

Again, the *vastitas Italiae* is referred to in i. 28:

Horrida quod dumis multosque inarata per annos
Hesperia est...
...alta sedent civilis vulnera dextrae.

5. *Supra*] i.e. *ex iis quae supra sunt*, "trace from remote events." So, *rem longe repetere*, i. q. *ex iis quae longe distant*.

6. *Illustria*] "Plain, well-known." Cic. *ad Attic.* iv. 6, *ne illius injuriam faciam illnstrem*.

7. *Post magnitudinem, etc.*] i.e. "no man injured Italy so much, since the period when Rome had become powerful, as Hannibal." Before that period Pyrrhus and the Gauls, *Italiae opes attriverant*. Comp. *Catil.* 5, *hunc post dominationem L. Sullae libido maxima invaserat reip. capiendae*: "No man had been so ambitious of power since the usurpation of Sulla."

8. *Cui postea Africano cognomen*] P. Cornelius Scipio received the surname Africanus for his victory over Hannibal at Zama, and the triumphant conclusion of the second Punic war, A.U. 553 B.C. 201. He was said to be the first of the Romans who received as his title the name of the country he had conquered. Sil. Ital. xvii. 627, *Devictae primus referens cognomina terrae*. His sons Publius and Cnaeus bore the same surname: the elder of them adopted a younger son of his relative L. Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, who became

known as P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus minor, more commonly called Scipio Aemilianus. He was the conqueror of Numantia in Spain (A.U. 621), and opposed the agrarian laws of Tiberius Gracchus.

9. *Rei militaris facinora*] i. q. *militaria facinora*. So Cic. *pro Mur.* 10, *rei militaris virtus*.

10. *Syphace*] Syphax was a Numidian chief, who warred with the Carthaginians about the year 540 of the city. He entered into alliance with the Romans, but afterwards betrayed them, and connected himself with his former enemies. After various reverses he was finally defeated by the Romans. Polybius asserts that he was led in Scipio's triumph, A.U. 553, but Livy relates that he died in confinement previously. Silius Italicus follows Livy's account, and represents the *effigy* of the captive as carried among others in the procession xvii. 630:

*Ante Syphax feretro residens captiva premebat
Lumina, et auratae servabant colla catenae,...*
*Mox victas tendens Carthago ad sidera palmas
Ibat, et effigies orae jam lenis Iberae.*

11. *Magnum atque late*] Both words are to be taken adverbially. Comp. Virg. *G.* iii. 28, *magnumque fluentem Nilum*. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 37, *nuntiavere accolae Euphratem sponte et immensum attolli*.

12. *Bona atque honesta*] "Good and true."

13. *Imperii vitaeque ejus finis idem fuit*] i.e. "his sway ceased only with his death." At his decease the grants made him by the Romans reverted to the republic, and his son Micipsa retained authority only in his patrimonial possessions.

14. *Dereliquerat*] So Kritz on the authority of the MSS. for the simple *reliquerat*. The preposition *de* conveys a notion of contemptuous abandonment.

15. *Domi*] Implying, *in domum suam ascitum*; "adopted into his own family."

CHAPTER VI.

1. *Luxu*] The dat. case. This use of *u* for *ui* is confined according to Priscian, vii. 18, to poetry; and adopted for the convenience of metre. Julius Caesar, however, according to Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, iv. 16, considered it the true form of the termination. In the MSS. of Sallust it occurs frequently, but not always.

2. **Exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis]** "Being himself old and his children still young;" *exigere vitam, aetatem*: to bring life to a close.

3. **Cum animo...volvebat]** "He considered with himself." So, *cum animo habere, Jugur.* 11. *Comp.* 13, 70, 93, 108. *In animo* would imply a fixed intention.

4. **Transversos agit]** "Draws or hurries away from the right to the wrong course." The same phrase occurs *Jugur.* c. 14. *Senec. Epist.* 108, *ne resistere quidem licet quum coepit transversos agere felicitas.*

5. **In Jugurtham accensa]** "Inflamed in favour of Jugurtha." So *Tac. Ann.* iii. 4, *studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam.*

CHAPTER VII.

1. **Circumventus]** "Embarrassed."

2. **Acceptum]** "Acceptable," "agreeable." *Varro, R. R.* iii. 16, *Dis et hominibus acceptum.* *Virg. Geor.* ii. 101, *Dis et mensis accepta secundis.* *Cic. Tusc.* v. 15, *gratum acceptumque.*

3. **Objectare periculis]** "To thrust in the way of danger." *Comp. Virg. Geor.* i. 386, *caput objectare fretis.*

4. **Bello Numantino]** See *Liv. Epit.* lvii. lix.; *Flor.* ii. 17; *Vell.* ii. 4. Numantia, a city of the Celtiberi in Spain. Its site, according to Mannert, was at the confluence of the two branches of the Douro, where that river bends to the west, a little south of Soria. For its position, see *Appian, Hisp.* 76, 90; *Strabo*, iii. p. 246. The Numantians destroyed themselves to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, *A. U.* 611.

5. **Saevitia]** i. q. *ferocia*, "prowess." *Comp. Virg. Aen.* xi. 910, *et saevum Aenean agnovit Turnus in armis.* *Aen.* i. 99, *Saevus ubi Aeacidæ telo jacet Hector.*

6. **Acri ingenio]** Not "clearness" and "acumen, but "high spirit" and "bravery." So in c. 20, *ipse acer, bellicosus: ut is quem petebat quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio.* *Horace, Ars Poet.* 121, of Achilles:

Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer.

Lucan. of Caesar, *Phars.* i. 146, *acer et indomitus.*

7. **Difficillimum in primis]** The superl. with *in primis* is unusual and not strictly correct. But *comp. Cic. Act. 2 in Verr.* iii. 27, *homini in primis improbissimo.* So *Liv.* xli. 23, *ego maxime gravissimam rem arbitror.*

8. **Bonus**] "Excellent." When joined with an ablative limiting its application *bonus* i. q. *eximius*. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 3, Agrippam bonum militia geminatis consulatibus extulit. Liv. iv. 2, sic pace bonos sic bello fieri.

9. **Alterum...alterum**] "The latter," "the former;" this transposition is called by the grammarians chiasmus.

10. **Frustra erat**] "Was unsuccessful." The adverb for the adjective with the verb substantive. Comp. *Catil.* 21, quibus mala abunde omnia erant. 58, commeatus abunde. *Jugur.* 87, Romanos remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28, teterrima quaeque abunde fuere. See note on *Catil.* 58.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. **Clari magis, etc.**] So Livy, viii. 27, clari magis inter populares quam honesti. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 10, Vibius Crispus, inter claros magis quam inter bonos.

2. **In ipso maximam virtutem**] Inasmuch as, they said, his abilities were unrivalled, and everything might be got at Rome for money. The causal particle *enim* omitted as in *Catil.* 39, neque (enim) illis...licuisset.

3. **Praetorium**] The tent of the emperor, or, as he was originally called, the praetor, i. e. *qui praeibat*, "who led the army." In later writers *praetoria* in the pl. is used poetically for "a palace." Juvenal, x. 161:

Mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis.

4. **Abduxit**] Better than the common reading *adduxit*. Comp. Liv. xxx. 14, quos quum egregiis laudibus frequenti praetorio celebrasset, abductum in secretum Masinissam sic alloquitur.

5. **Publice**] "By acting for the general advantage of the republic, rather than by acquiring private friends."

6. **Neu quibus**] "Nor...to any one."

7. **In suis artibus**] "In his (good) habits."

8. **Venturum**] *Venio* used of the unexpected arrival of good or evil fortune. Cic. 2 *in Verr.* ii. 14, huic hereditas venit testamento propinqui sui. Of spontaneous growth: Virg. *Geo.* i. 54, hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvae.

9. **Sin properantius pergeret**] "But if he proceeded in too great a hurry."

10. **Suamet ipsum pecunia**] "By means of the very money which he should expend in bribery."

CHAPTER IX.

1. **Certo scio]** There is equal MS. authority for *certo* and for *certe*. Hand in his *Tursellinus*, ii. 15, makes this distinction, that *certo* expresses the objective certainty or *truth* of a proposition, *certe* the subjective assurance or *belief*.

2. **Gratulor]** "I congratulate you *thereupon*," i.e. "that Jugurtha is such as I have represented him."

3. **Beneficiis vincere]** "To win by good offices." Comp. Curtius, vi. 8, *etiamsi ipse vel poenitentia vel beneficio tuo victus quiesceret*.

4. **Pariter cum]** On an equality with. So c. 14, *parem cum liberis tuis fecisti*.

5. **Verba cum J. habuisse]** *Verba habere cum aliquo*, "to address a discourse to a person," as Ter. *Hec.* iii. 3. 21, *hanc habere orationem mecum*. On the other hand, Cic. *Som. Scip.* 1, *multis verbis ultro citroque habitis*, "after much conversation together."

CHAPTER X.

1. **In meum regnum accepi]** "I have admitted to a share in my sovereignty." Comp. Virg. *Aen.* iv. 373:

Ejectum litore, egentem
Excepi, et regni demens in parte locavi.

2. **Neque ea res falsum me habuit]** More emphatic than the simpler phrase *fefellit*: so, *cognitum, perceptum, comperitum, occultum aliquid habere*. But here *res* is the subject, *homo* the object. Comp. 71, *ne super tali re suspectum sese haberet*. 79, *quae res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter sese habuit*.

3. **Egregia tua]** "Noble deeds of yours." So Corn. Nepos, *Thrasymb.* 3, *praeclarum hoc Thrasymbuli*.

4. **Rediens]** Not i. q. *quum rediisses*, but i. q. *in ipso reditu*, "in returning." The proper sense of the pres. part.; though for want of a perf. part., the other sense sometimes occurs. Glory might be said to accrue to Numidia from the moment the victorious Jugurtha *set out on his return* from the scene of his successes.

5. **Nomen]** "The glory of our family."

6. **Invidiam vicisti]** Comp. Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 12:

Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.

7. *Per regni fidem*] i.e. *per eam fidem qua esse decet eum qui regnum obtinet*, "by your royal word."

8. *Non exercitus, etc.*] This is imitated from Xenophon *Ogyrop.* viii. 7. 14, οὐ τὸδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασωζόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεύσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον.

9. *Equidem ego*] See note on *Catil.* 51.

10. *Concordia parvae, etc.*] This sentence, it is said, was often in the mouth of M. Agrippa, the associate of Augustus. Senec. *Epist.* 94.

11. *Ante hos*] *Ante*, implying priority, not in time, but in excellence. Comp. *Catil.* 53, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse.

12. *Talem hunc virum*] "This man, so excellent as he is." Comp. *Jugur.* 63, is ad id locorum talis vir.

CHAPTER XI.

1. *Pro tempore*] "As the occasion required." Comp. *Catil.* 51; *Jugur.* 74.

2. *Justa*] Scil. *funera* or *officia*. Caesar says, *Bell. Gall.* vi. 19, justis funeribus confectis; but Cicero, *pro Rosc. Am.* 8, paterno funeri justa solve. So *justa ferre*, or *dare*: Gr. τὰ νομιζόμενα; Festus, in voc. *Præcidanea*: qui mortuo justa non fecisset, id est, glebam non objecisset.

3. *Reguli*] "Petty kings," "chieftains," δύνασται. The word is not found in Cicero or Caesar.

4. *Minimus*] Sc. *natu*, which is generally expressed, unless *filius*, or *ex filiis*, is added, as Liv. i. 53. Sextus filius ejus qui minimus ex tribus erat. Justin, xlii. 5, obsidem Caesari minimum filium Phraatis ferens. Here *ex illis*, sc. *regulis*, means the sons of Micipsa, who were inferior kings, associated in power with their father.

5. *Quod apud N. etc.*] Comp. the story in Plutarch, *Cato min.* 57, of Juba assuming the place of honour between Metellus, Scipio and Cato. But the Romans also, at least at a later period, considered the middle the place of honour. The emperor took his seat in the senate between the consuls for the year. Hence Sil. Ital. iii. 626, of Domitian:

Tarda senectam
Hospitia excipient coeli; solioque Quirinus
Concedet, mediumque parens fraterque locabunt.

6. **Fatigatus**] "Importuned." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* i. 29, *galla fatigabat alieni jam imperii Deos.*

7. **Jacit**] "Suggests." Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 23, *non mediocres terrores jacere atque denuntiare.*

8. **Quinquennii**] "Of the five years' interval;" i.e. those during which Micipsa had been incompetent to govern.

9. **Ipsum illum**] Scil. *Jugurtham.*

10. **Tribus proximis annis**] "Within the last three years." Another reading is: *tribui his proximis annis*; as in Cic. *ad Fam.* vii. 9, *neque ego ad te his duobus mensibus scripseram.* Comp. *Jugur.* 31, *piget dicere his annis xx quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum.*

CHAPTER XII.

1. **Loca propinqua thesauris**] i.e. the cities or fortified places in which the royal treasures were deposited, or which secured the command of them. No such place as Thirmida is known. Hippo (the modern Bona) and Cirta (Constantina) were the principal cities of Numidia.

2. **Proximus lictor**] The lictors walked before the magistrates at Rome, and the last of these, who immediately preceded the magistrate, was therefore *proximus* to him. The Roman writers constantly apply their own terms to foreign officers, &c.: *lictor* means here, "an attendant." *Proximus*, here metaphorically, "most confidential." So the cant phrase, *proximus sum egomet mihi.*

3. **Onerat**] Comp. Liv. xxiv. 13, *Hannibal oneratos ingentibus promissis domum redire jubet.* Tac. *Histor.* i. 25, *Proculum et Veturium pretio et promissis onerat.*

4. **Referebantur**] The use of the imperf. signifies: "were regularly carried back to Hiempsal;" i.e. whenever they had been used to unlock the treasury for the public service.

5. **Ut doctus erat**] "As he was instructed:" the simplest but least usual sense of the participle, which generally means, *peritus, eruditus.*

6. **Diversi**] "Going different ways." Comp. Liv. x. 33, *diversi consules ad vastandos agros urbesque oppugnandas discedunt.*

7. **Mulieris ancillae**] *Mulier* is superfluous, as in many places. Ter. *Andr.* iv. 4. 16, *mulier meretrix.* *Phormio*, ii. 1. 62, *homo servus.* Cic. *ad Div.* vii. 22, *homo gladiator.* We say, "a maid servant," "a waiting woman;" but in Latin the sex is indicated by the form of the qualifying word, *ancilla, servus, &c.*

CHAPTER XIII.

1. *Voluntate*] "Of their own good will." Comp. Liv. *Epit.* xlix., *Andriscus totam Macedoniam aut voluntate incontinentium aut armis occupavit.* Observe that the ablatives *vi*, *voluntate*, refer to different subjects, though brought under the same construction to serve the antithesis.

2. *In provinciam*] i.e. the Roman province of Africa; formerly the domain of Carthage. The simple term *provincia* was applied to it, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, as also to the possessions of the republic in Gaul. Comp. *Jugur.* 25, 39, 62.

3. *Patratis consiliis*] "Having effected his purpose;" i.e. his scheme against the brothers. *Patrare*, an archaic word for the more usual *perficere*.

4. *Hospitibus*] i.e. certain Roman citizens who undertook to entertain visitors from Numidia, and take charge of their affairs, like the *πρόξενοι* of Athens.

5. *Senatus...datur*] "A meeting of the senate is appointed them." So *diem dare* or *dicere*, a forensic term. The audiences of foreign envoys were ordinarily given in the first two months of the year.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. *Procuracione*] "Administration;" i.e. with deputed authority. Hence under the empire the officer by whom certain provinces were administered, was called *procurator Caesaris*, "the emperor's deputy."

2. *Jus et imperium*] "Legal right and formal authority." Hor. *Epist.* i. 12. 27:

*Jus imperiumque Phraates
Caesaris accepit genibus minor.*

3. *Loco ducerem*] Comp. Sall. *Fr.* 192, *praedae loco aestimantur.*

4. *Sustinet*] "Bears," with a notion of difficulty and pain. Ovid *Met.* ii. 296, *Atlas, en! ipse laborat, Vixque suis humeris candentem sustinet axem.* Comp. Plaut. *Poen.* pr. 90, *homi, si leno est homo, Quantum hominum terra sustinet sacerrimo.*

5. *Atque ego, Patres*] Not a copulative here, but marking a transition, "So," "such being the case, I for my part."

6. **Maxime...secundum**] "In the first...in the second place." Comp. Cic. *Philipp.* viii. 16, hujus industriam maxime equidem vellem ut imitarentur ii quos oportebat; secundo autem loco ne alterius labori inviderent. Varro, *de Vit. Pop. Rom.* iii. quoted by Nonius, ii. 621, animadvertendum primum quidem de causis...secundum, qua fide...eas coluerint. Gerlach punctuates: secundum ea, "next to this," for which construction comp. Cic. *in Vatin.* 6, secundum ea quaero; and Caes. *B. G.* i. 33. In that case *desideranda* must be referred to another *ea* understood, and not to the *ea* which is expressed, an awkward construction.

7. **Neque mihi in manu fuit**] "It was not in my power to effect what sort of person Jugurtha should be." Comp. Ter. *Hec.* iv. 4. 44:

Uxor quid faciat, in manu non est mea:

And below,

Uti per otium tuti simus in manu vestra est.

8. **Quo tempore...**] "At a time when such was the condition of the republic that only its good faith, and not its good fortune, could engage sympathy or attract friends."

9. **Fortuna petenda erat**] "Would have been to be sought." The imperf. is thus used of a thing which in a certain case, which does not actually hold, would be right or proper. Cic. *leg. Man.* 17, Si Pompeius privatus esset... tamen is erat deligendus. See Madvig, *Lat. Gram.* § 348 *e. erat majestatis*: "It would have befitted the greatness."

10. **Evasere**] "Have come to this result." Ter. *Andr.* i. 1. 190, heri semper lenitas verebar quorsum evaderet.

11. **Parem cum liberis**] Cic. *Brut.* 59, erant ei quaedam ex his paria cum Crasso. *Phil.* i. 14, libertate parem cum ceteris.

12. **Ferro**] i. q. *certamine*. Suet. *Ner.* 12, exhibuit ad ferum quadringentos senatores.

13. **Jure**] "Naturally," "as might be expected."

14. **Sese eferens**] "Rising," "swelling;" i. e. growing proud and presumptuous: *eferens*, an old form for *efferens*.

15. **In imperio vestro**] "Under your sway;" i. e. *vobis imperantibus*.

16. **Extorrem...effecit ut tutius essem**] *Extorris*, the proper subject of the second verb *essem*, becomes by attraction the object of the first verb *effecit*. Comp. Plaut. *Poenul.* ii. 5, Sex immolavi agnos nec potui tamen propitiam Venerem facere uti esset mihi. For *tutius essem*, see note on *Jugur.* 7.

17. **Praedicantem]** “Declaring;” i.q. *saepe et palam dicentem*. Comp. *Catil.* 48, ipse Crassum postea praedicantem audivi.

18. **Quo...accedam]** i.e. as a suppliant for help. Catull. *lxiv.* 177, nunc quo me referam?

19. **Pro magnitudine imperii]** “As befits the greatness of your empire.”

20. **Quo accidam]** Scil. *ad genua*: “at whose feet shall I throw myself?” Comp. Ennius in Cic. *Tusc.* *iii.* 19, arce et urbe orba sum: quo accidam? quo applicem? Suet. *Jul.* 20, ut ad genua ultro sibi accideret. Senec. *Troad.* 690, ad genua accido supplex.

21. **Infesti sunt]** The passage seems to be imitated by Virgil, *Aen.* *iv.* 320:

Te propter Libycae gentes Nomadamque tyranni
Odere; infensi Tyrii.

22. **Hostilia monumenta]** i.e. “memorials of the warfare waged by my ancestors against the neighbouring states on the Romans’ behalf.”

23. **Huic imperio]** “This empire of yours.”

24. **Secunda et obedientia]** “Attentive and obedient.”

25. **Sociorum injurias]** “The injuries suffered by your allies.”

26. **Fingere me verba]** “They say that I make a fictitious representation.”

27. **Quod utinam]** “I wish, for my part.” *Quod*, in conjunction with *si, nisi, ubi, utinam*, &c., loses its pronominal force, and becomes merely emphatic, or marks a transition.

28. **Rerum humanarum cura]** Comp. Lucan, *iv.* 808:

Si libertatis superis’tam cura placeret
Quam vindicta placet.

vii. 454,

Mortalia nulli Sunt curata Deo.

Claudian, *in Rufin.* *i.* 1,

Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem
Curarent Superi terras.

29. **Nae]** Or, *ne*, “surely!” Gr. *val.*

30. **Sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus]** “Exulting and glorying in his crimes.” Comp. Hor. *Epod.* *iv.* 5:

Licet superbus ambules pecunia.

31. Jam jam] "Assuredly." Antiqua dicendi forma, Hand, *Turs.* iii. 156. Virg. *Aen.* iv. 369, jam jam nec maxima Juno nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.

32. Unde minime decuit] i.e. *a quo*. Comp. Hor. *Od.* iii. 11. 38:

Surge ne longus tibi somnus unde
Non times detur.

So illuc for in illum: Tac. *Ann.* i. 3, Nero solus e privignis erat: illuc cuncta vergere.

33. Cujus vitae necisque] *Cujus* referred to *ipse*, not to the substantive next preceding, *regnum*. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 36, vidisse civium moestos vultus, quod tantum aditurus esset iter, *cujus* ne modicos quidem egressus tolerarent.

34. Emori] "To die at once;" expressing the immediate connexion between the death and its cause or motive. So Hor. *Od.* iii. 24. 24:

Et peccare nefas ant pretium emori:

"to die thereupon."

35. Neu] i. q. *neve*. "And that I might not."

36. Per vos] i.e. vos obtestor per vosmet ipsos, &c. So Cic. *pro Plancio*, 42, nolite, judices, per vos, per fortunas vestras, per liberos, inimicis meis dare laetitiam. Liv. xxix. 18, per vos fidemque vestram.

37. Per scelus, etc.] i.e. "by the crimes of Jugurtha and the slaughter of my brother and myself, all belonging to the same family;" "by family crime and slaughter."

38. Tabescere] "To consume away;" "to perish ineffectively." Comp. Catull. lxiv. 199, Vos nolite pati nostrum vanaescere luctum.

CHAPTER XV.

1. Freti] "Relying on the bribes they had given rather than on the merits of their case."

2. Putarent] Scil. the senators, understood in *senatus*. Drakenborch on Liv. iv. 53 brings together a great many similar instances of the plural verb after *senatus*. See note 20 on *Catil.* 17.

3. Ante facta sua ponerent] *Ante*, signifying "preference," never separated from its verb in Cicero, but commonly in the later writers. See Hand, *Tursell.* i. 386, and so in Ennius, quoted by Cicero, *Off.* i. 24, non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem, if the right order of the words be not rather, *n. e. r. p. a. s.* Comp. *Catil.* 53, and other passages given in note 7. In c. 16, *quae vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat* is an instance of the more common usage.

4. **Contemnere]** "Express their contempt for." So Cic. *pro Mur.* 7, contempsisti Murenæ genus, extulisti tuum.

5. **Bonum et æquum]** *Bonum*, that which is good in itself: *æquum* that which may be required of one.

6. **Aemilius Scaurus]** There were several families belonging to the Aemilian gens, distinguished by the surnames Lepidus, Paullus, Scaurus, &c. Scaurus signifies a person with crooked or weak ancles. Hor. *Sat.* i. 3. 47, scaurum pravis fultum male talis. The greatest man of this family was the M. Scaurus here mentioned. He was consul B.C. 115; triumphed over the Ligures, and made the Aemilian Way from Pisæ to Lunæ and thence to Dertona. Strab. v. He was consul B.C. 107, censor, and afterwards princeps senatus. He was a staunch champion of the senate; nevertheless he was accused by Varius, a tribune of the people, of exciting the Italians to revolt, B.C. 90. Scaurus proudly demanded of the people whether they would take the word of Varius, a Spaniard, or of Scaurus, the prince of the senate; and this appeal was answered with acclamations. Cicero extols the character of Scaurus as a champion of the nobility. For the same reason probably Sallust seeks to depreciate him.

7. **Polluta]** "Shameless;" "detestable." *Jug.* 53, indignus honore et quasi pollutus.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. **Pretium aut gratiam]** "Bribery or influence."

2. **L. Opimius]** A champion of the optimates, and vehement opponent of the Agrarian laws of the Gracchi. He was consul B.C. 121, in which capacity the senate called upon him to see "ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet." This decree was called *Senatus-consultum ultimum*, and was interpreted by the nobles as investing the consul with plenary authority over the lives of the citizens. Accordingly Opimius caused C. Gracchus, and his colleague in the tribunate, Fulvius Flaccus, to be seized, as public enemies, and put to death. The plebs denied the right to put any citizen to death except by a vote of the people. Opimius was eventually condemned by a popular vote for taking bribes of Jugurtha, and driven into banishment. Cicero extols him as the saviour of the commonwealth.

3. **Victoriam]** Opimius followed up the slaughter of Gracchus by the massacre of three thousand of his partizans in the city. Plut. *C. Gracch.* *Victoriam exercere* is to exercise the rights of victory. So in *Catil.* 33.

4. **In inimicis]** I adopt the reading of Kritz and several other editors, for *amicis*, given by the MSS.

5. **Accuratissime]** "With elaborate attention." *Accuratus* is said of things, *diligens* of persons.

6. **Fama, fide]** The ablat. governed by the *comparative force* of *anteferret*, "he considered the advantage of the king more important *than* his own reputation." So Cic. *pro Balb.* 8, *quum magna pars libertatem civitate anteferret*; i.e. *potiorem duceret*. Cic. *Orat.* 13, *Isocrates videtur testimonio Platonis aliorum judicia debere contemnere*; i.e. *minoris facere*.

7. **Eadem via]** "By the same means." This metaphorical use of *via* is common in Sallust. Comp. *Catil.* 11, *vera via*. *Jugur.* 1, *virtutis via*.

8. **Mauretanium]** The north-western parts of Africa, modern Fez and Marocco. At this period the river Mulucha, now Mulviah, constituted the boundary of Mauretania and Numidia. The name more correctly written with *e* than with *i*, as appears from inscriptions, and so also in some of our MSS. in this place. Dietsch.

9. **Agro]** "In extent of territory."

10. **Illam alteram]** "That other well-known part." Comp. Cic. *in Catil.* iv. 5, *si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, fortasse minus erunt mihi populares impetus pertimescendi*; *sin illam alteram* (that other which you have heard), *nescio an, etc.*

CHAPTER XVII.

1. **Exponere]** Scil. *ut exponam*. The infin. used after verbs of willing, intending, &c. So *Jugur.* 19, *alio properare tempus monet*. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 45, *Macro impulerat Enniam amore juvenem illicere*.

2. **Minus frequentata]** "Comparatively unvisited." So *ludos, sacra frequentare*, "to resort to." Observe the neut. plur. used instead of the fem. *frequentatae*. Kritz *in loc.* remarks, *si subjectum pluribus nominibus varii generis constat, praedicati genus et numerus legitime ad id refertur, cujus notio in sententia praeminet et primaria est*. So here *loca*.

3. **Haud facile compertum narraverim]** "I could not well relate anything as certainly known."

4. **Orbis terrae]** "The earth:" *orbis terrarum*, "the Roman empire." Cortius on Cic. *ad Div.* ii. 16. 13.

5. In parte tertia Africam] Comp. Lucan, evidently a diligent student of Sallust, ix. 411:

Tertia pars rerum Libye, si credere fama
Cuncta velis, sed si ventos coelumque sequaris
Pars erit Europae; neque enim plus litora Nili
Quam Scythicus Tanais primis a Gadibus absunt;
Unde Europa fugit Libyen et litora flexu
Oceano fecere locum. Sed major in unam
Orbis abit Asiam; nam cum communit istae
Effundant Zephyrum, Boreae latus illa sinistram
Contingens dextrumque Noti, discedit in ortus
Eurum sola tenens.

Some MSS. read *in partem*, and so the passage was read by St Augustin (*de Civ. Dei*, xvi. 17). It is doubtful, however, whether *in* with the acc. is ever used after *ponere*. Madvig on Cic. *de Fin.* v. 2, cited by Dietsch.

6. Ea] *Sc. Africa*.

7. Fretum nostri maris et oceani] "The straits between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic."

8. Declivem latitudinem] "The broad expanse of the eastern slope of the globe." So the southern hemisphere is called *mundi devexa* by Lucan, x. 39. While on the west, the extreme point of Africa is fixed at the straits of Gades, on the east it has no precise limit. The Catabathmus or declivity of the globe is the region eastward of Cyrene: so denominated by the Greeks of that place. Mela, i. 1, deinde a Catabathmo continuus est in Aegyptum descensus; i. 8 Catabathmus vallis devexa in Aegyptum finit Africam. Egypt was considered to belong to Asia.

9. Arbore infecundus] The reading cited by Arusianus Messus in *Corp. Gram. Lat.* i. 230, in voc. *ferax illo*. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 57, flumen gignendo sale fecundum. Virg. *Geo.* ii. 222, illa ferax oleo. But MSS. and Edd. read *arbori*.

10. Salubri] *Salubre*, "robust;" *sanum*, "sound." Doederlein, *Synon.* i. 32. Tac. *Hist.* v. 6, corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum.

11. Quae plerosque obtinet] The usual construction would be *apud plerosque*, or *plerumque*. The passage is probably corrupt.

12. Ex libris Punicis] It will be remembered that Sallust administered the province of Numidia under Caesar, and may have obtained his information upon these subjects on the spot. The deponent used as a passive.

13. Interpretatum] So *enisum*, *Jugur.* 25. *Adeptus*, *Catil.* 7. *Machinatum*, *Catil.* 48, *bonis venditis aut dilargitis*, *Fragm.* 185.

14. **Uti...utique]** "As...and as." *Utique* unusual for *utque*. Comp. Cic. *Phil.* 9 in fin. *utique* consules quaestoribus imperent.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. **Vagi, palantes]** *Errare*, to stray from the right way ignorantly: *vagari*, to wander about, to roam, purposely: *palari*, to roam, apart from one's companions. Erramus incerti, vagamur soluti, palamur dispersi. Doederlein, *Synon.* i. 89.

2. **Hercules]** The Phoenician Hercules (or Melcarth) is the hero of Syrian and Punic legends. His conquests represent the spread of civilization by the commercial establishments of the Phoenician race.

3. **Multis sibi quisque...petentibus]** Comp. Justin, xxix. 1, regibus...in suorum quisque majorum vestigia nitentibus.

4. **Nostro mari]** i.e. the Mediterranean.

5. **Intra oceanum magis]** "Nearer to the ocean," i.e. towards the coast of the Atlantic Ocean rather than of the Mediterranean. The Persians are represented as occupying the country westward of the straits of Gades. That the passage cannot mean, as some understand it, "farther from the ocean," "more inland," appears from the use of *alveos navium pro tuguriis*.

6. **Alveos navium]** Comp. Lucan, v. 516:

Haud procul inde domus non ullo robore fulta,
Sed sterili junco, cannaque intexta palustri,
Et latus inversa nudum munita phaselo.

7. **Materia]** "Timber." Madvig (*Gramm.* 56) holds that *materies* is the proper form for the primary meaning of the word, i.e. "timber," and *materia* for "matter." So in *Catil.* 10, all the MSS. read *materies*. In this place, however, *materia* is generally found.

8. **Mare magnum]** "The extent of sea, or ocean." Comp. Cic. *Somn. Scip.* c. 6, terra parva quaedam insula est, circumfusa illo mari quod Atlanticum, quod magnum, quod Oceanum appellatis.

9. **Ignara]** Passive for *incognita*. So *Jugur.* 52, regio hostibus ignara.

10. **Alia, deinde alia]** So *Jugur.* 36, alias, deinde alias morae causas facere.

11. **Nomadas]** Or *Numidas*. These are the words by which the Sicilian Greeks and the Romans respectively represented the native appellation, *Nemoudim*, Phoen. "wanderers."

12. *Mapalia*] Another form *magalia*. See Servius, on *Aen.* iv. 259. Lucan uses the same word of the huts of the Numidians, ii. 89:

vacisque mapalibus actus
Nuda triumphati jacuit per regna Jugurthae.

Of their form, Festus *in voc.* says from Cato, *Orig.* iv. *mapalia*, quasi cohortes, *rotundae* sunt. (Cohortes or cortes, *χόρτοι*, inclosures for cattle, &c.) He is speaking apparently not of single huts, but of kraals, or assemblages of huts.

13. *Accessere Libyes*] "Approached the Libyans." As the Persae mingled with the Gaetuli in the west, so the Medes and Armenians coalesced with the Libyans in the east, on the borders of the Mediterranean, or *mare Africum*. Comp. *Jugur.* 20, *pleraque loca accedit*.

14. *Agitabant*] Scil. *vitam*. Comp. *Catil.* 2, *vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur*.

15. *Sub sole magis*] "More directly under the sun."

16. *Ab ardoribus*] "From the torrid zone:" as 19, *loci exusta solis ardoribus*. The Greeks denominated the zones, *κατεψυγμένοι*, "frigid;" *εὐκρατοι*, "temperate;" *διακεκαυμένη*, "torrid." Ovid, i. *Metam.* i. 46, *quinta est ardentior illis*.

17. *Proxime Carthaginem*] Propius and proxime may govern an accus. as well as prope. So in ch. 19, *proxime Hispaniam*.

18. *Hi*] Scil. *Libyes*; *hique*, sc. *Medi, Armenii et Libyes*; *eorum*, sc. *Medorum et Armeniorum*: the proper relation of the pronouns is not very carefully observed.

19. *Pars inferior*] "Nearer the sea," i.e. the Mediterranean.

20. *In gentem...concessere*] A phrase used of conquered people who unite with their conquerors.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. *Originibus suis*] *Origines*, scil. *metropoles*. Comp. Liv. xxxviii. 39, *Iliensibus Rhaetum et Gergithum addiderunt, originum memoria*.

2. *Nam*] With reference to a sentence understood, e.g. *haec de illis urbibus sufficient; sed Carthaginem consulto non nominavi; nam de ea, etc.* Kritz.

3. Ad Catabathmon...prima] "Next to Catabathmus." Comp. Cic. *de Fin.* iii. 16, quorum ordo proxime accedit ut secundus sit ad regium principatum. Mela, i. 8, with an eye to this passage of Sallust, inde ad Catabathmon Cyrenaica provincia est. Comp. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxviii. 9, dulcissimum ad hominis camelinum lac.

4. Secundo mari] "Following the line of the sea-coast." Virg. *Geor.* iii. 447, secundo defluit amni. Caes. *B. G.* vii. 58, secundo flumine ad Lutetiam iter facere, "following the bank of the river."

5. Cyrene] Founded from Thera, one of the Cyclades, by Battus, A.C. 632. Olymp. xxxvii. 1. See Herod. vii. 150 seqq.

6. Theraeon...Philaenon] Greek genitives, *Θεραίων, Φιλαίων*. Kritz remarks that the Greek genit. in *όν* is used only in rare proper names by the Latin writers.

7. Super Numidiam] "Above," "more inland." *Super et supra*, significant, quod, alio intercedente, remotius est. Hoc loco igitur est, *trans* Numidiam, quippe ab Italia, sive *ultra*. Sic Romani mare Adriaticum superum appellabant. Dietsch.

8. Exusta] Comp. Lucan, ix. 312, Vadimus in campos steriles, exustaque mundi.

9. Bello Jugurthino] "At the era of the Jugurthine war."

10. Pleraque ex Punicis oppida] i.e. *ex Pun. oppidis*, "many Carthaginian towns." The Carthaginians were called Poeni (*Punicus*, of or belonging to *Poenus*), from their original country Phoenicia. Gr. *φοίνιξ*, the palm-tree. Hence the Latin *punicus*, "red." Lucan, i. 214, Punicus Rubicon.

CHAPTER XX.

1. Decessere] The MSS. fluctuate between this and *discessere*. The former is the proper word for an officer leaving his post, and returning home. Kritz *in loc.* who refers to Drakenborch on Liv. xxviii. 28. So *Jugur.* 28, decrevere uti legati...Italia decederent, 35, jussus ab Senatu Italia decedere.

2. Opportunus injuriae] "Open to injury:" "subject to be injured with impunity." Comp. Liv. xxviii. 19, quis unquam civem militemve opportunum injuriae duceret?

3. Quam bellum sumere] So c. 62, de integro bellum sumit. Comp. the common phrase *sumere arma*, "to take up arms." Virg. *Georg.* ii. 125, et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetris.

4. **Secus cesserat]** "Had been less successful than he had expected." *Secus* has the force of a comparative, *Jugur.* 92, *rem haud secus difficilem*, "not less difficult." In other places Sallust uses it with negation and *atque*, in the sense of "otherwise than." *Jugur.* 100, *neque secus atque in mari*.

5. **Animo...invaserat]** Comp. Cic. *in Verr.* i. 51, *qui jam spe et opinione praedam illam devorasset. Ad Att.* i. 16, *ille autem regis haereditatem spe devoraverat*.

6. **Praedas]** This word is used in the plur. in *Jugur.* 32, 41, 44. Booty may be of various kinds, or carried off by various persons, or from various places.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. **Obvius procedit]** For the use of the adjective instead of the adverb *obviam*, comp. *diversus*, *Jugur.* 12, 46, 50, and the phrases *certantes agere*, *Jugur.* 44, *frequentes incederent*, *Jugur.* 46, *festinare pergit*, *Jugur.* 52, *properantes arma capiunt*, *Jugur.* 53, *occultus veniat*, *Jugur.* 61, *quo improvisus gravior accederet*, *Jugur.* 88, *citi sese ostendunt*, *Jugur.* 101.

2. **Cirtam]** *Cirta*, Gr. *Κίρρα*, apparently i. q. the Phoenician *Kartha*, "a city;" called afterwards by the Romans *Sittianorum colonia*, from the followers of P. Sittius, a Roman adventurer who assisted Caesar in his African campaign; known in modern times by the name of Constantineh. It lies about 40 miles inland, on the river Ampsagas, and was one of the principal cities of Numidia.

3. **Die]** An old form of the gen. Virg. *Geo.* i. *Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas*. This form is preserved by the MSS. in several places in Sallust, e.g. *Jugur.* 52, 97, though here many read *diei*.

4. **Plerumque noctis processit]** Comp. *Jugur.* 51, *multum diei processerat*. Lucan, vii. 423, compares the advance of the Roman empire to the progress of a heavenly body through the sky: *Te geminum Titan procedere vidit in axem*.

5. **Obscuro...lumine]** "The sun not yet risen." *Lumen* is properly the body from whence light issues, *lux* the light diffused. Doederl. *Synon.* ii. 66. But Virg. *Aen.* vi. 356, *vix lumine quarto Prospexi Italiam*, poetically, as we should say, "with the fourth sun," i. e. on the fourth day.

6. **Fugant funduntque]** "Put to flight and rout," or "disperse."

7. **Togatorum]** i.e. Roman citizens. These are called c. 26, *Italici*, and afterwards *negotiatores*, i. e. Roman settlers who carried on commerce in the country.

8. **Patratum]** "Accomplished:" a more formal and emphatic word than *perfectum*. See above on c. 13.

9. **Foret]** "Were already:" the imperf. for the plusq. perf. implying the immediateness of the act. Comp. nearly the same words in Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 16.

10. **Vineis]** These were wooden frames, covered with hides, wattles, &c., to protect the besiegers, while they worked their battering rams, or constructed their towers. *Vinea* is properly an adjective, agreeing with *porticus*, (as appears from *Caes. Bell. Civ.* ii. 2, *porticus integebantur*), from its similarity to vines trained over trellis-work.

11. **Tempus...antecapere]** "To make the best use of the time before their return."

12. **Velle et censere]** *Velle* is properly said of a resolution of the people, *censere* of the senate. *Sed hoc loco utrumque verbum de senatus consulto intelligendum est.* Kritz *in loc.*

CHAPTER XXII.

1. **Maturantes veniant]** For *mature*. Comp. passages in note on c. 21.

2. **Clemens]** Explained by Priscian in this place by *non nimius*, "moderately strong," more properly, "the rumour was softened," i.e. fell short of the shocking truth: opposed to *atrox*, a common epithet to *rumor* or *fama*. *Clemens* is "gently sloping," connected perhaps with *collis* and *clivus*. So *Tac. Ann.* xiii. 38, *colles clementer assurgentes.* *Germ.* 1, *clementer edito montis jugo.*

3. **Malitia]** "Vice." The same opposition is found in *Seneca, Epist.* 106, *quicquid agimus aut malitiae aut virtutis gerimus imperio.* Cicero indeed, *Tusc. disp.* iv. 15, opposes *vitiositas* to *virtus*, and would confine *malitia* to a particular quality, as we say, "malice." But in another place, *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 30, he says that *malitia* is any *versuta et fallax nocendi ratio.*

4. **Ob easdem artes]** "For the same qualities which had gained him the favour of Scipio."

5. **Pro bono]** i. q. simpl. *bene.* Kritz, *pro bono facere*, i. q. *facere ita sicut bonum est*, i. e. *ut probari potest.*

6. *Ab jure...prohibuerit*] "Prevent his using the law of nations to defend or avenge himself."

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. *Firmat*] *Firmantur turres praesidiis cum per ea a dirutione defenduntur.* Dietsch *in loc.*

2. *Praemia...formidinem*] "Holding out at one time promises, at another threats:" *formidinem*, "fear," for "the cause of fear;" i.e. *rem formidolosam*. Sallust uses similar expressions again, *Jugur.* 66, 89. *Formido* is stronger than *metus* or *timor*. Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 8, *Stoici definiunt formidinem, metum permanentem.*

3. *Miserando*] "By complaining of." *Misereor* expresses the inward feeling, *miseror* the outward act. So *vereor, veneror.*

4. *Ad proximum mare*] "To the sea at its nearest point."

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. *Socius et amicus populi Romani*] The sovereignty of allied kings was acknowledged by the senate. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* i. 43, Caesar commemoravit quod rex appellatus esset a Senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissima missa.

2. *Fortuna mea, etc.*] "My ill-fortune discourages me from writing more concerning Jugurtha, being assured that little reliance is placed on the complaints of the unfortunate."

3. *Nisi tamen intelligo*] "(I will say no more) but that I am aware." *Quod* is suppressed. Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xiii. 73, De re nihil possum judicare, nisi illud mihi certe persuadeo, te nihil temere fecisse.

4. *Petere*] "He aims at a higher object than myself," viz. at the Roman authority.

5. *Gravius*] "The more important."

6. *Posuistis*] So Cic. *pro Flacc.* 19, *custos frumento publico positus.*

7. *Ut...ostentui essem*] "That I should serve as an exhibition of Jugurtha's wickedness."

CHAPTER XXV.

1. *Enisum*] Passive, as *Catil.* 7; *adeptus*, 48; *machinatus*, *Jugur.* 17, *interpretatus.*

2. **Majores natu]** "Persons of greater age," i.e. higher distinction; whereas, on the former occasion, *adolescentes* had been sent.

3. **In senatu princeps]** i.e. *princeps senatus*. The man of highest standing among the *ensorii*, those who had been censors, was appointed *princeps* of the senate, and his opinion was first asked on any question in debate. He continued *princeps* during his lifetime. After the year B.C. 210, the censors appointed the most worthy of the *ensorii*. See in Liv. xxvii. 11 the story of the appointment of Q. Fabius Maximus.

4. **In invidia esse]** Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 9; Liv. xxix. 37.

5. **Triduo]** i.e. *intra trium dierum spatium*.

6. **Utica.** The capital of the Roman province of Africa; Carthage, near which it stood, being destroyed.

7. **Casum victoriae]** "An opportunity of victory." Comp. *Jugur.* 56, *fortunam illis praeclari facinoris casum dare*.

8. **Multa oratione consumpta]** "After much talking to no purpose." Such is generally the force of *consumere* in such phrases as, *consumere diem, tempus, verba, &c.*

9. **Frustra]** i.e. *eventu frustrati*. Comp. *Jugur.* 85, *ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint*. 112, *saepe cum imperatoribus Rom. pacem conventam frustra fuisse*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. **Italici]** The Roman citizens spoken of in c. 21, by the designation of "togati," including, we may suppose, natives of Italy who had not the full Roman franchise

2. **Necat...interfecit]** A distinction may be drawn between these words. *necare* is to put to death by poison, starving, or torturing. Doederlein, *Latcin. Synonym.* 111, 187, cites from the grammarian Festus: *neci proprie dicitur, qui sine vulnere interfectus est, ut veneno, fame*. We may generally attach to *necare* the idea of killing with cruelty. *Interficere* has the general signification of "slaying." Comp. Q. Curtius, ix. 2, *Boxum protinus placuit interfici; Biconem etiam percruciatum necari*. Kritz *in loc.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. **Potentia]** Always in Sallust "political influence." So c. 30, *potentia Scauri*.

2. **Lege Sempronia**] A law of C. Sempronius Gracchus (A.U. 631, B.C. 123), which provided that the consuls' future provinces should be assigned before the day of their election.

3. **P. Scipio Nasica**] This was the son of the Scipio Nasica who slew Tiberius Gracchus (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 16; Plutarch, *Tib. Gracch.* 19).

4. **L. Bestia Calpurnius**] This unusual order of the names is found occasionally, as in Liv. xxvii. 6, Crassus Licinius. Nepos, *Vit. Att.* 18, Marcelli Claudii, Scipionis Cornelii. Vell. ii. 26, Ofella Lucretius. In Tacitus the usage is frequent, as *Ann.* ii. 7, Pollio Asinius.

5. **Obvenit**] "Presents itself;" i.e. the lot turns up.

6. **Scribitur**] "Is levied," or "enrolled:" the names of the enlisted soldiers being written on tablets.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. **In animo haeserat**] "Was his firm and fixed opinion." Comp. Plin. *Ep.* x. 31, sed et illud haereat nobis.

3. **Legat**] i.e. *legatos tibi adsciscit*, "appoints as his *legati*, lieutenants," viz. officers with whom the imperator advised on the conduct of the war, or to whom he intrusted the command of subsidiary expeditions. They were chosen by the imperator himself, subject to the approbation of the senate.

3. **Quae deliquisset munita fore sperabat**] "He hoped any blunders of his own would be bolstered up."

4. **Nam**] Not indicating the cause of what had been said, but introducing an illustration: "Now our consul, &c." Comp. Virgil, *Geo.* iv. 445, Nam quis te juvenum confidentissime?

5. **Firmissimus contra pericula et insidias**] In a moral sense, "determined," "unmoved." Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 18, says of Tiberius: *satis firmus adversus pecuniam*.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. **Aeger avaritia**] "Corrupted with avarice." So in Horace, *avaritia laborare*.

2. **Plerisque, etc.**] "While many of his (Scaurus's) friends and partizans had already been corrupted by the bribes of Jugurtha." Of the corruption of Scaurus himself, Florus says (iii. 1. 5), *Quum Jugurtha in Scauro ipsos Romani imperii mores expugnasset*.

3. **Cum iis]** i.e. with Bestia and Scaurus.
4. **De omnibus pactionibus]** "On all the subjects of treaty," "all the conditions of peace."
5. **Praesens]** "At once," "off-hand."
6. **Fidei caussa]** "To keep faith with Jugurtha," according to agreement between them.
7. **Vaga]** Or *Vaca*; a city of Numidia near Cirta, modern Veyja. See Ruperti on *Sil. Ital.* iii. 259, Tum Vaga et antiquis dilectus regibus Hippo. Accordingly not *Vacca*, as found in many MSS.
8. **Deditionis mora]** "While the treaty for a surrender was making slow progress."
9. **Praesenti consilio]** "In the presence of his counselors." Cic. *Philipp.* iv. 6, *Senatum orbis terrae consilium*. Caes. *B. G.* iii. 3, *Galba consilio celeriter convocato*. *Concilium*, which is read here in some editions, means simply, "an assemblage," i. q. *coetus*.
10. **Per saturam]** "Opinions being asked in a confused irregular manner:" the *lanx satura* being a dish composed of various ingredients. Festus says, *Satura est lex multis aliis legibus conferta*: a comprehensive enactment, embracing many particulars. *Per saturam legem ferre*, is proverbial. Diomedes, *Lib. iii.*, quotes a verse of Lucilius:

Per saturam aedilem factum qui legibus solvat.
11. **Pro consilio]** "Standing forth in the council." *Pro*, as in *pro rostris*, *pro concione*, &c., implying the position assumed by the speaker, stepping forward to address his audience.
12. **Ad magistratus rogandos]** "To preside in the comitia for the election of magistrates." The proposer of a law was said *rogare legem*, i.e. to ask the people's decision about a law. Hence the same phrase came to be adopted in regard to elections. *Rogare magistratum* is to propose the election of a magistrate.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. **Parum constabat]** *Scil. iis*, "The senators were uncertain."
2. **Vindicandum]** When put absolutely, as in *Catil.* 10, i. q. *puniendum*. So below, *Jugur.* 45.

3. **Pollens]** "Effective." An epithet frequently applied by the later writers to language, as Lucan, vi. 685:

Tunc vox Lethaeos cunctis pollentior herbis
Excantare Deos.

Claud. vi. *Cons. Honor.* 501, quanta tuis facundia pollet In-
geniis.

4. **Perscribere]** It has been inferred from this word that the author has in this instance transcribed a genuine speech, instead of making one of his own invention. Some critics have fancied accordingly that the style is quite different from Sallust's own. I cannot perceive any material difference; the words are evidently Sallust's, and the most that can be reasonably said, is that the substance may be derived from the genuine document.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. **A vobis]** i. e. *ne rerum vestrarum curam suscipiam.* This seems to be imitated from a speech of Cato the censor, *de Lusitanis*, a fragment of which is preserved in A. Gellius, xiii. 24, multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire, anni, aetas, vox, vires, senectus.

2. **studium reip.]** Comp. *Catil.* 41, studium conjurationis; "zeal for."

3. **His annis xv.]** "For these last fifteen years." The number is perhaps corrupt. The MSS. fluctuate between xv. xii. and x. It was twenty-two years from the death of Tib. Gracchus, ten years from that of Caius, either of which epochs might be pointed to. Cortius conjectures xx. as a round number, which Kritz and Dietsch adopt. Gerlach retains xv.

4. **Vestri defensores]** Scil. the Gracchi.

5. **Obnoxii inimicis]** "When your foes have fallen into your hands:" i. e. their guilt is detected, and they are unable to palliate it. Comp. the use of *obnoxius* in *Catil.* 20, 48. Liv. xxiii. 12, si reticeam aut superbus aut obnoxius videar, "if I keep silence I shall seem either to be proud or conscious of guilt." Dietsch *in loc.* "gravissime orator perstringit popularium socordiam, qui omnibus injuriis vexati, ne tum quidem ad strenue agendum parati erant, quum certam victoriam in manibus haberent."

6. **Experiar]** "I will make trial of." Liv. xxxix. 26, licentiam vocis et linguae experiri. Pliu. *Paneg.* 67, libertatem quam dedit experiemur. Juvenal i. extr.

7. **Ob rem]** i.q. *in rem*, or *ex re*.

8. **Suomet...more]** i.q. *suis moribus*, "through their own vices." *Mos* sing. for *mores* plur. Cic. *Acad.* i. 10, *virtutes natura aut more perfectae*.

9. **Quaestiones habitae sunt]** "Prosecutions were instituted." *Quaestiones*, questions of *caput*, i.e. life and civil condition.

10. **Regni paratio]** "Attempt at regal usurpation." (Comp. *Catil.* 5, *dum sibi regnum pararet*. So *infra*, *parandi juris gratia*.) This is an ironical concession on the speaker's part.

11. **Ulcisci]** In a passive sense, as in Liv. v. 49, *quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas est*. Val. Flacc. iv. 750, *lege occidit ultus ipse sua*. "Activi *ulciscerem* exemplum tradidit ex Ennio Nonius, 292. 16." Dietsch. *in loc*.

12. **Nequitur]** This passive form occurs in a fragm. of Pacuvius, *contendi nequitum*: of Plautus, *Retrahi nequitum*: of Cato, *Orig.* 1, *quod Termino fanum fuit, id nequitum exaugurari*. Lucret. i. 1044, has *queatur*: and this word occurs also in Plautus and Terence.

13. **Expilari]** *Expilare*, i.q. *compilare*, "to plunder, pilage." The simple form *pilo*, from *pilus*, to drive a stake, to fix, or press.

14. **Parum]** "Not enough;" *minus quam par est*. Used adjectively in the sense of *parvum*, little, or too little. So Cic. *de Off.* i. 25, *quae est inter nimium et parum*.

15. **Incedunt]** "March with a grave, dignified gait." Virg. *Aen.* i. 50:

Quae Divum incedo regina.

And again:

Et vera incessu patuit Dea.

Lucret. iii. 75:

Macerat invidia ante oculos illum esse potentem,
Illum aspectari claroque incedere honore.

16. **Per ora]** "Before your eyes." Comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 1. 65:

Nitidus qua quisque per ora
Cederet introrsum turpis.

Justin, xvi. 5, *senatores per ora civium trahit*.

17. **Imperio nati]** Comp. Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 5, *nationes natae servituti*. Tac. *Agric.* 31, *nata servituti mancipia*. Vell. ii. 118, *natum mendacio genus*. For the sentiment, comp.

Cic. *Philipp.* vi. in fin. Pop. Rom. servire fas non est quem Dii immortales omnibus gentibus imperare voluerunt.

18. **Libertatis curam]** Comp. Lucan, iv. 808, si libertatis Superis tam cura placeret Quam vindicta placet.

19. **Beneficia vestra]** "The advantages," i.e. "magistracies and honours, which you have to bestow."

20. **Majestatis constituendae]** Quintil. vii. 3, majestas est in imperio atque omni populi Rom. dignitate. Cic. *de Inv.* ii. 17, majestatem minuere est de dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare.

21. **Per secessionem]** The two secessions referred to are probably those mentioned in Livy, ii. 32, and iii. 50, A.U. 260 and 305. It seems that another historian, Piso, had said that the first secession was not to the Mons Sacer but to the Aventine, and this is the account which Sallust may have followed.

There was a third secession to the Janiculan hill, A.U. 406. Liv. *Epit.* xi.

22. **Si dediticius est]** "If he has the temper of a subject." *Dediticii*, conquered people who submitted without conditions. Comp. Liv. vii. 31, omnia in vestram dicionem dedimus, quicquid deinde patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri.

23. **Paces]** Cato, *de Vit. Pop. Rom.* apud Nonium, ii. 621, animadvertendum primum quibus de causis et quemadmodum constiterint paces. This the grammarian qualifies as "nove dictum." But the plural is also found in Plautus, *Persae*, v. 1. 1, pacibus perfectis. Kritz *in loc.* So also Lucret. v. 1228, ventorum paces animasque secundas. Horat. *Ep.* ii. 1. 102.

24. **In perniciem casura]** "Would end in your ruin."

25. **Quantum importunitatis habent]** i.e. quae nimia eorum est importunitas, "so great is their insolence."

26. **Obedientes vivamus]** Plus est quam *obedientes simus*, et perpetuitatem simul denotat. Cortius. Comp. Horat. *Sat.* ii. 2. 136:

Quocirca vivite fortes,
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.

So Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 9. 37, vive pius, moriere pius. Stat. *Theb.* xii. 441, vivunt odia improba, vivunt.

27. **Si injuriae non sint]** The meaning is, it is of more importance to deter the evil-disposed than to encourage the good; for if you can prevent crimes against the state by the fear of punishment, you will seldom require the aid of your honest citizens for your defence.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. **Captae]** "taken illegally." Tac. *Ann.* iii. 67, *saevitiae captarumque pecuniarum teneri reum.*

2. **Arcessebant]** "Demanded for trial." Tac. *Ann.* ii. 50, *arcessere majestatis.* Suet. *Claud.* 37, *arcessi statim ac mori jussus est,* "to be tried and executed."

3. **Perfugas]** *Perfuga* seems strictly to mean "one who seeks perfugium, refuge, by abandoning his post or party," *transfuga*, "one who deserts his own party and takes refuge with another." But no such distinction is strictly observed.

4. **Talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat]** "Such at that time was the estimation in which Cassius was held."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. **Contra decus regium]** "In a manner the reverse of royal." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* i. 82, *contra decus imperii*, "the honour and glory of legitimate authority." Luc. vii. 588, of Brutus, *O decus imperii, spes O suprema senatus.*

2. **In vincula]** "To prison."

3. **Numidiae]** Gen. for abl. *Numidia*, "in Numidia." The use of the genitive for the name of a country is irregular; but is here occasioned by the proximity of the genitive of a city, *Romae*. In English we should say, *at Rome*, but *in Numidia*.

4. **Corrupturum]** "He would injure."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. **Quae ira fieri amat]** "Which anger delights to have used." Quintilian, iv. 3. 17, says: *Graeca vero translata vel Sallustii plurima, quale est vulgus amat fieri.* This passage, apparently corrupt, has been supposed to refer to that before us, and has been variously altered to apply to it. In Thucyd. viii. 1, we find *ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν*; and perhaps we should read *facere* in Quintilian. The idiom *φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι* is imitated by late Latin writers, as Auson. *ad Gratian.* 1, *ut apud Deum fieri amat.* Diets, i. 3, *sicut in re tali fieri amat*; but this usage is not found in better authors. Still less would the Greek idiom of the verb sing. with the neuter plural be admissible. In *Jugur.* 41, we read: *scilicet ea quae res secundae amant.*

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. *Invidia cum metu*] "Public odium together with his own personal fear."

2. *Senescere*] Used figuratively, as Sallust, *Fr. Hist.* i. 30, *nisi quum ira belli desenuisset*, and in other writers of the best class as Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 3, *oratorum laus...senescit*. Liv. xxx. 29, *senescere Punicum bellum cernentes*. v. 21, *senescit pugna*. Ovid more than once. So also Sil. Ital. iii. 581, *virtus paulatim evicta senescit*.

3. *Maxime occulte*] "If possible, secretly." Comp. *Jugur.* 46, *persuadet uti Jugurtham maxime vivum, sin id parum proccedat. necatum sibi traderent*.

4. *Artifices*] The substantive *artifex* used frequently as an adjective in the sense of "skilful." So Suet. *Calig.* 32, *miles decollandi artifex*, with which compare Lucan. viii. 673, *nondum artis erat caput ense rotare*.

5. *Egressus*] "Goings out," "movements;" very frequently used by Tacitus; as *Ann.* xi. 12, *Messallina (Silii) egressibus adhaerescere*: and elsewhere.

6. *Ex eo numero qui...erant*] By attraction for *ex eorum numero*. So also *Jugur.* 18, 38.

7. *Indicium profitetur*] "Offers to make a disclosure." So Tac. *Ann.* vi. 3, *summum supplicium decernebatur ni professus indicium foret*. Suet. *Dom.* 17, *professus conspirationis indicium et ob hoc admissus*.

8. *Ex aequo bonoque, etc.*] "Equitably, though not legally."

9. *Manifestus tanti sceleris*] Properly "caught in the fact." So *Catil.* 41. 52.

10. *Supra gratiam, etc.*] "Beyond his means and influence to appease."

11. *In priore actione*] In the first *actio*, or pleading, the charges were rehearsed and witnesses examined. The defendant was then called upon to give bail for his appearance on a future day, when the accuser should proceed to comment upon the charges. *In priore.....*: "on occasion of the first proceedings."

12. *Ex amicis...vadibus*] "He had given fifty sureties from among his friends." *Vades*, those who offer bail as sureties.

13. *Urbem venalem*] These words should be construed as the exclamation of Jugurtha. They are reported as such by Livy, *Epit.* lxiv. and Florus, iii. 1. 18. The account in Livy differed from that of Sallust. The former stated that Jugurtha was himself put to trial for the murder of Massiva, and escaped secretly. Jugurtha.....*propter caedem admissam in regulum quendam nomine Massivam, qui regnum ejus populo Rom. invisi affectabat, Romae interfectum, quum periclitaretur, causam capitis dicere jussus, clam profugit, et cedens urbe fertur dixisse, O urbem, etc.* Comp. Lucan, iv. ult.:

Emere omnes, hic vendidit Urbem.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. *Ludificari*] The reading of Kritz, for *ludificare*, in all the MSS.; the passage being thus quoted by Arusianus in v. *ludificor*; and the same form being found in Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 21, evidently imitated from this: *Tacfarinas...spargit bellum; ubi instaretur cedens ac rursus in terga remeans; et dum ea ratio barbaro fuit, irritum fessumque Romanum impune ludificabatur.*

2. *Ex tanta properantia*] i.e. *ex praegressa tanta properantia*, "After so much haste;" *ex* implying change out of one state into another. Hand, *Tursell.* ii. 646. *Ex*, ut Graecum ἐκ, de proxima consecutione rerum ita usurpatur ut condicio dicatur ex qua alia condicio prodierit. Tac. *Germ.* 22, statim e somno lavantur. Liv. xxi. 39, otium ex labore, copia ex inopia, etc.

3. *Aulo fratre...pro praetore relicto*] As one to whom the commander or praetor delegated his authority in his absence. So *Jugur.* 104.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. *Continuare magistratum*] "To continue their own magistracy;" "to keep themselves in office for a further term;" i.e. by *interceding*, i.e. interrupting by their veto the meetings of the people for the election of magistrates. So of the prolongation of Caesar's proconsulate in Gaul, Lucan i. 275:

Quamvis nolente senatu
Traximus imperium.

2. *Suthul*] This place is unknown. Priscian mentions it as an instance of barbarous names ending in *ul*. In *ul* quoque unum reperitur masculinum Latinum, *consul*; duo communia, *praesul*, *exsul*; et barbara *Suthul*, *Muthul*.

3. *In praerupti montis extremo*] "At the foot of a precipitous hill, surrounded by a morass." So we have *sumum*

medium montis. This usage is common in Tacitus: medio campo, medio montium et paludum. So Livy: extremo aestatis; extremum auctumni. The more correct idiom would be *in extremo monte*.

4. Cupidine caecus] Comp. Lucan, i. 87:

O male concordēs nimiaque cupidine caeci

5. Vineas agere] "To thrust mantlets forward." A military phrase adopted more than once by Caesar.

6. Aggerem jacere] "Throw up a mound." More commonly *jacere fundamenta*, to lay down, Horat. jactis in altum molibus.

7. Incepto] "For his enterprise."

8. Properare] This reading preferable to *praeparare*. So Jugur. 77, ni id festinaret.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. Subdolos augere] The adjective is used in place of the adverb *subdolē*, which indeed is found in some MSS. Comp. *Catil.* 60, illi haud *timidi* resistunt; for *timidē*. Jugur. 44, praedas *certantes* agere. 61, effecit uti ad se *occultus* veniat.

2. Missitare] "To send frequently." A word which only occurs in Liv. ix. 4, and Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 1. Dietsch *in loc.*

3. Vitabundus] "Constantly avoiding." The participial in *bundus* implies the force, frequency, or abundance of an action. It is generally formed from intransitive verbs. Here the verb is transitive, and Livy uses the phrase *vitabundus castra*, xxv. 13. Madvig, *Latin Grammar*, 115.

4. Delicta] Referring to *pactio*. Jugurtha enticed Aulus into a remote place, where he might come to an understanding with the enemy undiscovered. But the passage seems to be corrupt, to judge from the variation of the MSS., and some editors have tried to make better sense of it by transferring it to another place, e.g. after *deserent*.

5. Instruit] The present after *postquam*, frequent in Sallust, to give rapidity to the narrative. Comp. *Catil.* 40. 57; Jugur. 66, 76, 79, 80, 84, 86.

6. Periculum anceps] "The danger was double, whether they remained or fled," i.e. from the attack of the enemy, and from the darkness of the night; as explained by the words which follow. *Anceps*, i.e. *ambiceps*, "that can be taken up on either side;" hence may mean "double" or "doubtful."

7. **Cohors una Ligurum]** "A single cohort of Ligurian auxiliaries." There were ten cohorts to the Roman legion; but the number of auxiliary cohorts was indefinite.

8. **Turma]** A squadron of thirty horsemen. Ten *turmae* or thirty *decuriae* formed the complement of cavalry to the legion.

9. **Gregariis militibus]** "Common soldiers," i.e. Roman legionaries.

10. **Centurio primi pili]** The Roman legion before the time of Marius was arranged in three lines, called the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, or *pilani*. In each of these lines were ten ranks, *ordines*, and ten centurions. The centurion of the first rank of *hastati* was called *primus hastatus*, of the first of the *principes*, *primus princeps*, and of the first of the *pilani*, who ranked above all the rest, *centurio primi pili*, or *primus pilus*. See a remarkable passage in Livy, xlii. 34, about the rise of a common soldier through these stages of promotion.

11. **Remorata]** Remorari more forcible than morari. Remora the name given to a fish that was supposed to cling to the keel of a vessel and impede its progress, Gr. *ἐχέμησις*; possibly the Octopus.

12. **Eaque]** Scil. *parte*.

13. **Mutabant]** Scil. *mutabant se*, i.q. *permutabantur*, "they were set against the fear of death." This use of the active *muto* for the passive is not uncommon. Comp. Catull. xxii. 10. Liv. iii. 10. Tac. Ann. ii. 23, postquam mutabat aestus. But the reading rests upon a single MS.; the great variation of the codices being caused doubtless by the peculiarity of the idiom.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. **Dolere pro gloria imp.]** "Grieved in regard to their glorious dominion." Comp. Cic. *de Fin.* i. 7, dolorem quem optimus quisque pro patria suscipit. Tac. *Agric.* 26, securi pro salute.

2. **Insolita]** This part. usually passive, "id quod fieri non solet," here and elsewhere active, "quod facere (or pati) aliquid non solet." Comp. *Fr. Sall.* 202, genus armis ferox et servitii insolitum. Liv. x. 28, insolitos ejus tumultus conterruit equos. Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 85, insolitum ad laborem Pompeii exercitum.

3. **Armatus]** "Though with his arms in his hands."

4. **Exercitu]** Dat. cas., "for the army." So c. 84, *postulare legionibus supplementum*.

5. **Nomine Latino]** i.e. the cities which enjoyed the *jus Latii* or *Latinitas*, the Latin franchise, a certain portion of the rights of Roman citizenship. This franchise was first imparted to the cities of Latium; afterwards extended to many communities throughout the dominions of the republic. It consisted in the *jus connubii* and *commercii*. The *jus suffragii* was not conceded till the year u.c. 664. In return, the Latins were bound to serve as auxiliaries by the side of the Roman legions.

6. **Ita uti par fuerat]** "So as there had been reason to expect;" there not only was reason then, but always had been, from the known principles of the republic.

7. **Mederi fraternae invidiæ]** "Allay the odium against himself, on account of his brother's misconduct."

8. **Soluto imperio]** "In the relaxation of all discipline."

9. **Ex copia rerum]** "With a regard to existing circumstances." Comp. *Jugur.* 90, *pro rei copia satis providenter exornat*: 98, *Marcus ex copia rerum consilium trahit*.

CHAPTER XL.

1. **Mamilius...promulgat]** Cicero refers to the *lex Mamilia*, *Brut.* 34, *invidiosa lege Mamilia C. Galbam sacerdotem et quatuor consulares L. Bestiam, C. Catonem, Sp. Albinum, civemque praestantissimum L. Opimium, Gracchi interfectorem, a populo absolutum, quum is contra populi studium stetit, Gracchani judices sustulerant*.

2. **Neglegisset]** An ancient form for *neglexisset*, cited by the grammarians, Diomedes and Priscian, from the historian Æmilius Macer.

3. **Impedimenta parabant]** Scil. not by their votes in the comitia, for the Latins and Italians had no right of suffrage; but by creating disturbances at the place of voting.

4. **Vi]** "With ardour;" used of moral purposes as well as physical acts. Comp. 92, *quem locum Marius summa vi capere intendit*.

5. **Jusserit, decreverit, voluerit]** These words are accumulated *emphasis gratia*, but with no increase of force in the last. The common form is, *velitis, jubeatis, Quirites*.

6. **Trepida]** "In a state of excitement." Persius, *Sat.* ii. 54, *laetari praetrepidum cor*.

7. **Incredibile memoratu]** The same phrase has occurred in *Catil.* 6. So *vix credibile memoratu* in *Tac. Hist.*

8. **Ex rumore et lubidine plebis]** "On mere rumour, and popular caprice."

CHAPTER XLI.

1. **Mos partium pop. et sen. factionum]** "The system of having a popular party on the one side and an aristocratic faction on the other." *Factio* is generally said of the few, the nobles, *pars* of the people.

2. **Quae prima]** The relative is referred not to the words themselves, but to the general sense of the antecedent. *Comp. Jugur.* 102, *humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit.* *Cic. de Divin.* ii. 57, *earum rerum utrumque a corde proficisci.* And on the other hand, *Cic. ad Div.* x. 21, *omnia feci quare resisterem.*

3. **Populus et senatus Rom.]** The reverse order from that usually observed in combining these words, in order perhaps to mark that the two elements of the state are here regarded in distinction one from the other.

4. **Metus hostilis]** "Fear of an enemy," i. q. *remoto metu Punico*, as in *Jugur.* 105. *Tumultus Gallicus*, "A call to arms on the alarm of an attack of the Gauls."

5. **Scilicet]** "Then forsooth," ironically. For the neuter *ea comp. Catil.* 31.

6. **Asperius acerbisque]** *Scil. quam ipsae res adversae.*

7. **Quae media fuerat]** This expression, which seems to be imitated in *Liv.* ii. 57, and *Seneca, Ep.* 104, is taken from *Thucydides*, iii. 82, *τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων... διεφθίροντο.*

8. **Factione magis pollebat]** "Was strong by combination;" "by acting together;" opposed to *in multitudine.*

9. **Militum]** *Scil.* of the soldiers who were absent from home, and unable to protect their families from oppression.

10. **Nihil pensi]** See on *Catil.* 5.

11. **Ex nobilitate reperti sunt]** At last some of the nobles were found, such as the *Gracchi*, who preferred true glory to the tyranny of their class, and placed themselves at the head of a popular movement, which resulted in revolution.

12. *Quasi permixtio terrae*] "Like an earthquake," in which the strata of the soil are thrown into confusion and change places. The boldness of the illustration is acknowledged by the word *quasi*, "as it were."

CHAPTER XLII.

1. *Majores*] Tib. and C. Gracchus were grandsons on the mother's side of P. Scipio Africanus major, the conqueror of Hannibal. See Plutarch, *Tib. Gracch.* 1.

2. *Vindicare...in libertatem*] "To claim freedom for the people:" the legal phrase for the declaration before the *praetor* of a slave's manumission. *Vindicare* may stand by itself. Liv. iii. 46, *ita vindicatur Virginia spondentibus propinquis.*

3. *Spes societatis*] Scil. the hope of being conjoined with the nobility in the enjoyment of magistracies, provincial governments, and other advantages.

4. *Eadem*] Neut. plur. "undertaking the same enterprise." Liv. xlv. 23, *vix ea quibus fudit ingredientem.*

5. *Triumvirum col. deduc.*] One of three commissioners for establishing colonies of Roman citizens on the public domains.

6. *Sane*] "It must be allowed." The partiality of the writer for the Gracchi has already been shewn in the use of the word *necaerat*, "murdered."

7. *Bono*] "To a good man."

8. *Malo more*] "After a bad fashion," so as to become *mali exempli*, a bad precedent. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 35, *saevum id malique moris etiam saevientibus visum est.*

9. *Ferro aut fuga exstinxit*] The figure zeugma, where one verb is coupled with two substantives though its sense applies properly only to one. Thus *extingui ferro*, "to be destroyed by the sword," is a legitimate expression, but not *extingui fuga*. *Exstinguere* (Gr. *στίζω*) "to prick or scratch out."

10. *Ulcisci*] "To punish," "to wreak vengeance upon." This is the primary meaning of the word, *to avenge* (an injury, a friend,) is secondary, and much less frequent. For the sense of the passage compare Thucyd. iii. 82, *πάντι δὲ τρώπῳ, κ.τ.λ.*

11. *Si...parem*] "If I should undertake."

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. **Q. Metellus**] Of the gens Caecilia. He obtained a triumph and the surname Numidicus, for his victories over Jugurtha. Vell. ii. 11, Metelli tamen triumphus fuit clarissimus, meritumque virtuti cognomen Numidici inditum. Comp. Ovid, *Fast.* i. 595:

Hunc Numidae faciunt, illum Messana superbum.

2. **M. Silanus**] Of the gens Junia. As consul he led an army against the Cimbri in Transalpine Gaul, and sustained a defeat, A.U. 645.

3. **Partiverant**] *Partiri provincias* is the usual phrase. So Liv. ix. 41. The active form is supported in this place by the consent of the MSS., and by Servius, on *Aen.* i. 197, who adds, nam et partio et partior dicimus.

4. **Adverso...partium**] "An opponent of." *Adversus* is sometimes used substantivally, as *adversarius*, *amicus*, *inimicus*, etc. See Arusianus in voc. *adversus illius*. *Gram. Lat. Vet.* i. 211. Ed. Lindemann.

5. **Fama...aequabili**] "His reputation was consistent, and unimpeachable." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 31, Artabanus fidus Romanis aequabilis in suos. *Hist.* iv. 5, cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis.

6. **Alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus**] Subaud. *communia*. Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xiii. 1, cum Patrone epicureo mihi omnia sunt, nisi quod in philosophia vehementer ab eo dissentio. The ordinary duties of the consulship, such as the taking of auspices, &c., he considered common to himself and his colleague; but the war in Numidia was his own sole affair, as that in Gaul was the province of Silanus.

7. **Bello vario**] "A war which would require a variety of action," such as sieges, battles, foraging, &c.; and therefore, "for which resources of many kinds would be necessary."

8. **Invictum animum**] Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 21, invictus adversum gratiam animus. Justin, xii. 15, in mortem invictus animus.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. **Praedator ex sociis**] i.e. *ex agro sociorum*, as Jugur. 88, ex sociis nostris praedam agentis. Liv. xxiv. 47.

2. **Sine imperio et modestia**] "Without authority on the part of the officers, or obedience on that of the men."

3. *Aestivorum tempus*] Scil. *castrorum*, "the season of summer operations." Vell. ii. 105, *anni ejus aestiva neque in mensem Decembrem perducta.*

4. *Comitiorum mora*] The elections had been deferred by the intrigues of certain tribunes. See above, c. 37.

5. *Laborare*] "To submit to training by camp-labour," i.e. digging, carrying, watching, &c. The watchword given by the military emperor Severus on his death-bed was, *Laboremus.*

6. *Stativis castris*] i.e. the fixed camps in which the soldiers were retained in the winter, opposed to *aestiva*, the temporary encampments which were made during active service.

7. *Odos*] The old form of *odor*: scil. the noisome effluvia arising from a permanent camp.

8. *Neque...vigiliae deducebantur*] "Nor were sentinels placed:" as *coloniam deducere*, to lead forth a colony, and place or plant it.

9. *Certantes agere*] "To rival one another in carrying off;" the participle being used adverbially. See note 1 on cap. 38, *subdolos agere.*

CHAPTER XLV.

1. *Ambitionem*] *Ambitio* on the part of a general is relaxation of discipline for the sake of winning popularity with the soldiers. Comp. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 12, *Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio milites regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinae corruptus, ita proeliorum avidus.*

2. *Sustulisse*] Scil. *comperior*, from the last sentence.

3. *Ceteris*] Scil. *rebus*, "he corrected other matters in regard to which discipline was relaxed, not by direct coercion, but by art and management:" *arte* opposed to *edicto*. Kritz. Others explain *arte* as an old form of the adverb *arcte*: "he forbade some indulgences altogether, others he confined within strict limits." This latter sense is preferable.

4. *Circumire*] "To go the rounds;" "to visit the sentinels' posts at night."

5. *Cum signis frequentes*] "In close array about their standards."

6. *Cibum et arma portaret*] Comp. Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 16, *militiae qui labor, quantus agminis! ferre plus dimidiati mensis cibaria, ferre si quid ad usum velint, ferre vallum. Nam scu-*

tum, gladium, galeam in onere milites non plus numerant quam humeros, lacertos, manus. Sometimes the legionary carried a month's provision. Liv. xlv. 2, consul menstruum jussu milite secum ferre profectus. This provision was *frumentum*, wheat or barley in the grain.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. **Certior Romae factus]** "Having ascertained, during his residence in Rome, the integrity of Marcellus's character." Nonius in v. *Innocens*, iv. 245, gives *Roma*, i.e. "having received information from Rome;" but all the MSS. read *Romae*.

2. **Cum suppliciis]** "With earnest entreaties." Comp. *Jugur.* 66, Vagenses fatigati regis suppliciis. *Supplicia* may also mean "ensigns of supplication," *ἰκετηλαί* (comp. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 3), as Festus explains the word; supplicia sunt quae caduceatores portant: ea sumebantur ex verbena felicis arboris. So Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 100:

Jamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina,
Velati ramis oleae, veniamque rogantes.

3. **Aggreditur]** "Accosts," implying properly, motion towards a person in order to address him.

4. **Palam, quae ex voluntate, etc.]** "Openly Metellus desired to be informed what would be agreeable to Jugurtha."

5. **Intento atque infesto]** "Prepared for fighting and in hostile array;" not in the loose order in which an army marches through a friendly territory, or in time of peace. So Lucan, i. 5, *infestisque obviam signis signa: standards arrayed* against each other for battle. Compare also Lucan, x. 436:

Cum procul a muris acies non sparsa maniplis
Nec vaga conspicitur, sed justos qualis in hostes
Recta fronte venit.

6. **Contra belli faciem]** "With an appearance the reverse of warlike."

7. **Commeatum portare]** "To transport provisions for the Romans."

8. **Insidiis locum tentari]** "An opportunity for treachery was sought."

9. **Curabat]** "Took the direction," "commanded:" used absolutely, in a military sense. Comp. *Jugur.* 60, Marius in ea parte curabat. *Catil.* 59, *Faesulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare jubet.* Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 31, adds the accus. of the object: *exercitum Caecina curabat.*

10. **Velites]** "Light-armed troops," used as auxiliaries to the legion, but not forming part of the three lines.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. **Forum rerum venalium]** "A commercial emporium."

2. **Celebratum]** "Frequented;" *frequens* relates to persons or things; *celeber* or *celebris* is confined to persons. Doederlein, *Synon.* i. 25. Hence *celeber* comes to mean one who is much spoken of by men. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 88, Arminius...canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes...Romanis haud perinde celebris.

3. **Tentandi gratia]** Metellus places a garrison in Vaga on two accounts; first, in order to try and seduce the inhabitants from their fidelity to Jugurtha: and, secondly, because of the eligibility of the position for a Roman station, if they should consent to be seduced.

4. **Opportunitate loci]** i.e. *propter opp. loci*. So Tac. *Agric.* 45, felix...non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis.

5. **Huc...praesidium imposuit]** *Imponere* with an adverb of place. Comp. *Jugur.* 54, ubicunque res postulabat praesidium impositum. 66, quo Metellus praesidium imposuerat. 75, eoque imponit vasa. The reading *huic*, which is supported by a few MSS. only, is not necessary.

6. **Juvaturum]** This form occurs also in Plin. *Ep.* iv. 15, as *sonaturum* in Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 44.

7. **Impensius modo]** i.e. *supra modum impensè*. The ablat. after the compar., "beyond measure earnestly." The same phrase occurs *Jugur.* 75. Some understand in both places *modo* as a conj. and the phrase = *etiam impensius quam ante*.

8. **Dedere]** "Offered to surrender."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. **Tramites]** "By-paths;" opposed to military ways or high roads.

2. **Vastus ab natura]** "Naturally desolate;" as *ab equitatu firmus, ab doctoribus instructus*; "on the part of." *Vastus ab humano cultu*, "as regards (the want of) cultivation:" *qu. incultu*. Comp. *Catil.* 55.

3. **Ex medio quasi]** "From about the middle." Comp. *Jugur.* 50, *praesidio quasi duum millium montem occupat*. *Fragm.* 218, *quasi par in oppido festinatio*.

4. **Pertingens**] "Stretching on." There is said to be no instance of the word being thus used, and some critics would read *pertinens*, but unnecessarily.

5. **Humi**] Gen. cas. as, Tac. *Ann.* i. 61, humido paludum; iv. 41, secreto loci.

6. **Consita**] "Planted:" but as a stronger word than the simple *satus*, it here means "overgrown." Virg. *Aen.* iii. 127, crebris legimus freta consita terris: "thick set."

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. **Transverso itinere**] "In a direction at right angles," i.e. to the mountain.

2. **Extenuata acie**] "Drawn out in a thin line." Comp. Suet. *de Bell. Afric.* 14, adversariorum equitatus sese extendens, et...Caesaris equitatum extenuare. So applied to the scar of a wound; Catull. lxiv. 296, Extenuata gerens veteris vestigia poenae.

3. **Suos**] "His own division."

4. **Manipulos**] "Bands of infantry:" the Roman term applied loosely to the array of a foreign people.

5. **Decuerint**] Scil. *provideri*; to be supplied from *provisa*, which follows. *Decuerit* would be the proper construction.

6. **Locum superiorem, etc.**] Observe the four particulars in which Jugurtha had provided, like a good general, for victory; 1. higher ground; 2. knowledge of the country, and of the kind of warfare required in it; 3. no inferiority in numbers; 4. nor in skill and discipline.

7. **Prudentes**] Scil. *belli*; in everything relating to the conduct of the war. *Fragm. Hist.* iv. 12, belli prudentibus.

8. **Pecunia aut honore extulerat**] "Had advanced in wealth or dignity:" the proper meaning of *extollere*, to raise, promote, is extended by a zeugma to *pecunia*, which should properly be connected with such a word as *ornare*, or *locupletare*.

9. **Conspicatur**] Scil. *hostes*: MSS. *conspicitur*. But Donatus quotes Sallust's use of *conspicior* for *conspicio*; and the passage evidently requires the active sense here.

10. **Equi Numidaeque]** "The Numidians, horse and foot." So equi virique for equites peditesque. Caes. *B.G.* viii. 36, Germanos equitesque.

11. **Incerti quidnam esset]** Passivè "they were not clearly distinguished, as to what it was they were."

12. **Commutatis ordinibus in dextero latere]** "Facing right about." Jugurtha occupied the hill on the right of the Roman army as it descended the mountain.

13. **Triplicibus subsidiis]** "In three lines, supporting each other:" the usual Roman battle-array.

14. **Transversis principiis]** "With the first rank at right angles to the line of march." *Principes* are properly the second line, but *principia* the first rank of any line. The army having wheeled right about, continues to descend, in three columns, instead of, as before, in three lines.

CHAPTER L.

1. **Rutilium]** Consul with Marius A.U. 649.

2. **Cum expeditis cohortibus]** i.e. *sine impedimentis*, "leaving their baggage behind to expedite their movement."

3. **Crebro impetu et transversis proceliis]** "By repeated attacks and skirmishes on his flank."

4. **Quoniam armis diffident]** "Since they, the Numidians, dared not engage in a pitched battle."

5. **Post principia]** "Behind the first rank, in the first line;" which in the movement which Metellus was executing, became the right wing of the army, and was immediately opposed to the flank attacks of the Numidians. On the other hand, the left wing had become the first rank of the advancing columns, who are here called *principes*. See above, xl. note 14.

6. **Primos suos]** Scil. his own left wing, which was most in advance towards the mountain.

7. **Quasi duum millium]** i.e. *circiter*. Comp. Suet. *Calig.* 58, Hora quasi septima. *duum*, as in *Jugur.* 91, 106; but *duorum*, c. 79.

8. **Adesse]** Sometimes in the sense of attacking, harassing, particularly when coupled with an adjective of similar signification: as Liv. xxv. 34, Masinissa assidue noctes diesque infestus aderat. Flor. iii. 5, aderat, instabat, saevitia quasi virtute utebatur.

9. **Ludificati incerto proelio]** "Amused by a desultory mode of warfare." The verb is here passive, but active *supra*, c. 26.

10. **Ipsi modo]** "Themselves only," i. q. *ipsi soli*.

11. **Numero priores]** "Being superior in numbers," scil. the Numidians.

12. **Disjectos ... circumveniebant]** "Overwhelmed them in their confusion." So *Jugur.* 53, *disjectos circumveniri vident*. Comp. *Catil.* 39, *circumventus ab inimicis praeceps agor*. 34, *se falsis criminibus circumventum*.

13. **Ea vero]** Scil. *via*, or *parte*, "in that direction."

14. **Consueti ... equi]** "Accustomed to the hills and bushes;" not *consueti evadere*.

CHAPTER LI.

1. **Alii insequi]** "Others (Numidians) pursued."

2. **Observare]** "to pay attention to." *servare* would be more fitly applied to *ordines*, to keep the ranks.

3. **In armis omnia sita]** "all our lives and fortunes are placed in fighting." So Lucan, vii. 348, *medio posuit Deus omnia campo*: a metaphor from the prize of victory set before the combatants. Comp. *Jugur.* 54, *spes omnis in fuga sita*. *Catil.* 20.

4. **Hostibus dubiis]** "Such of the enemy as were shaken and confused, though not yet broken."

5. **Quos firmos...retinere]** "Such as kept their ground firmly he occupied with distant volleys."

CHAPTER LII.

1. **Ipsi pares]** equally matched as a pair of gladiators. Lucan, i. 129, of Caesar and Pompey, *Nec coiere pares*.

2. **Die vesper]** Comp. *Jugur.* 106, *ubi castra locuta et diei vesper erat*. *Die*, the old gen. for *dici*. See note 3 on c. 21. *Vesper* is never used without *diei* in *Catil.* and *Jugur.* Dietsch.

3. **Adverso colle]** i.e. the Romans charge up the hill on their right, on which the Numidians were posted: the ablat. of position, as *trita via incedere*, *monte aspero decurrere*.

4. **Evadunt]** i. q. *enituntur*. Comp. Sil. Ital. iii. 528:

Quoque magis subiere jugo atque evadere nisi
Erexere gradum crescit labor.

5. **Tutata]** The neuter predicate connected regularly with things. So tempus et ratio belli...permissa sunt. Liv. xxxv. 25, labor voluptasque, dissimillima natura, societate quadam inter se juncta sunt. Liv. v. 4. Comp. *Jugur.* 68, ira et aegritudo permixta sunt.

6. **Quid ubique]** "What anywhere:" scil. *quovis loco*. The sense *et ubi*, "what the enemy was doing, and where he was," is also admissible. Comp. *Jugur.* 54, Jugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitaret.

7. **Animo vacuum]** Not "idle," *vacuus a curis*, but "relaxing from his anxieties."

8. **Ex Jugurthae proelio]** "From the quarter where Jugurtha was engaged."

9. **Arcte statuerat]** "Had drawn up in close array."

CHAPTER LIII.

1. **Aequabilem]** Sc. *pulverem*, "constant," "not dispersed."

2. **Sicuti acies movebatur]** "As the army moved." *Sicuti* has sometimes the force of *quasi, tanquam si*, as if: comp. *Catil.* 38, alii sicuti populi jura defenderent: but with the subjunct. mood.

3. **Fugam faciunt]** In Sallust *f. facere*, always "to fly:" in other writers, "to put to flight;" i. q. *in fugam conjicere*.

4. **Fessi lassique]** "Weary and exhausted." The second word rather stronger than the first, not, as often explained, *lassus de corpore fessus de animo*.

5. **Amplius opinione]** "Longer than was expected." Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xiv. 23, opinione celerius.

6. **Strepitu...adventare]** So, *clamore invadere, silentio egredi*, etc. Kritz compares also *Jugur.* 64, cupidine atque ira...grassari.

7. **Detractant]** This antique form appears in the MSS., and was used by Sallust. *Detractare, detractare*, to pull down violently, to disparage, defame. Comp. Tac. *de Orat.* 26, detractare antiquos oratores. Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 365, Ingenium magni detractat livor Homeri.

CHAPTER LIV.

1. **In contione]** "In a public assembly," "on parade," from the verb *convenio*. Hence fig. the speech addressed to an assembly.

2. **Laudat atque agit gratias]** Scil. *iis*. Comp. *Catil.* 13, quippe quas honeste habere licebat, abuti (sc. *iis*) per turpitudinem properabat. Cic. *ad Div.* xiii. 4, Sed haec eo spectant ut te horter et suadeam (sc. *tibi*).

3. **Pro praeda]** i.e. *ad praedam faciendam*, "for the sake of booty."

4. **Cogebat]** "Was levying."

5. **Hebetem infirmumque]** "Rude and feeble." *Hebes* fig. of soldiers untrained, or slow and stupid from want of proper military spirit. Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 99, hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles. So in Greek ἀμβλύτερος πρὸς τὴν μάχην. Plutarch, *Vit. Alcib.* Celsus, *de medicina*, i. 1, Ignavia corpus hebetat, labor firmat. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 135:

Huic modo ne prosit quod, ut est, habes esse videtur.

6. **Ea gratia]** "On that account," for *ejus rei gratia*.

7. **Ex fuga]** "In his flight," "when flying." Comp. *Jugur.* 56, Jugurtha cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum. *Catil.* 34, Catilina ex itinere...litteras mittit. Liv. xxx. 7, Hasdrubal ex fuga...urbem proximam petierat: where the action proceeds *out of* the flying, marching, &c. If it were said that anything happened to a person *in* his flight, e.g. the enemy overtook him while fleeing, it would be *in fuga*, *in itinere*.

8. **Flagitium militiae]** "A military crime."

9. **Iniquum]** "Unequal." Virg. *Aen.* x. 839, pugna congressus iniqua.

10. **Temere]** Scil. "irregularly, insufficiently."

11. **Sine praesidio]** "Undefended." Comp. *Jugur.* 66, milites palantes et sine imperio aggrediuntur.

12. **Ea formidine]** Scil. *ejus rei formidine*. Comp. Virg. *Aen.* viii. 704:

Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
Desuper; omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.

In the same way *quo* for *cujus rei*. *Catil.* 43, quo tumultu. *Jugur.* 104, quo metu.

13. *Sua loca...in alienis*] *sua* i.q. *commoda*, "a position chosen by himself;" *aliena*, the contrary. So *Jugur.* 61, *neque Jugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco pugnam facere.* *Liv.* xlii. 43, *quum Perseus suo maxime tempore et alieno hostibus incipere bellum posset.*

14. *Ex copia*] *Scil. rerum quae suppetebat*, "under the circumstances." *Comp. Jugur.* 39, 98, *ex copia rerum.* The MSS. however for the most part read *ex inopia.*

15. *Plerumque*] "The greater part of his army," not adverbial, but in its proper adjectival sense. So also the feminine occasionally in Sallust: as *Catil.* 17, *juventus pleraque*; 17, *pleraque nobilitas*; *Jugur.* 79, *pleraeque Africae imperitabant.*

CHAPTER LV.

1. *Magnificum*] i. q. *superbientem*, "exulting." *Comp. Jugur.* 31, *incedunt per ora vestra magnifici.*

2. *Supplicia*] Here i. q. *supplicationes*, "a public thanksgiving," or *lectisternium*, when the sacred images were laid on couches, and a banquet served to them. *Tac. Ann.* iii. 64, *tum supplicia Dis ludique magni decernuntur.* This ceremony was repeated for several days, according to the importance of the occasion; sometimes as many as fifty. For other senses of the word see c. xlv. 2.

3. *Post gloriam*] "After glory has been attained." So *post insidias Jugurthae*, "after the stratagems he had experienced."

4. *Effuso*] "Scattered and straggling," opposed to *intento.* *Jugur.* 105, *temere et effuse euntes.* *Q. Curtius,* ix. 8, *barbari effuse sequentes.*

5. *Praeda ager vastabatur*] i. e. *praedatione.* *Comp. Liv.* xxii. 9, *praeda ac populationibus...Marsos devastat.*

6. *Otium pati*] "To suffer the Romans to rest."

CHAPTER LVI.

1. *Arcem regni*] "The citadel of the realm," as regarded the part of the country in which it was situated. *Comp. Liv.* xlv. 31, *Gentius eam sibi ceperat velut regni totius arcem.* *Cic. pro Ligur.* 7, *Africam omnium provinciarum arcem.* Livy uses the phrase figuratively, *Consulatum, arcem libertatis:*

Tacitus, *Classem, arcem comneatum*. Poetically, Statius, *Sylv.* ii. 2. 131:

Celsa tu mentis ab arce
Despicis errantes, humanaque gaudia rides.

The situation of Zama in the centre between the gulf of Carthage and the lesser Syrtis shews how narrow were the limits of the Roman province at this time. It was afterwards included in Zeugitana, the district of which Utica was the capital.

Zama, the second or eastern capital of the kings of Numidia, was styled by the Romans *Regia*, and is not to be confounded with the Zama where the great battle between Scipio and Hannibal was fought, which lay forty or fifty miles to the west. Mannert, *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*, x. 2, 356.

2. *Fallere*] i. q. *fidem mutare*, "to change sides." If they had gone over to the Romans they would have been treated with rigour as deserters.

3. *Ex itinere*] *Comp. Jugur.* 54, *ex fuga*; and see note there.

4. *Sicca*] A town of Numidia on the banks of the river *Bagrada*, lying centrally between Utica, Zama, and Cirta. It was called by the Romans *Sicca Venerca*, from a temple of the Phœnician Venus. *Val. Max.* ii. 6, 15; Mannert, x. 2, 322.

5. *Fortunam illis praeclari facinoris casum dare*] *Fortunam*, the subject; *casum*, the object: "fortune gave them the opportunity of performing a noble exploit." *Comp. Jugur.* 25, *sese casum victoriae inventurum*. *Tac. Ann.* xii. 28, *Si Chatti casum pugnae praeberent*. xiii. 36, *bene gerendae rei casum offerri*.

CHAPTER LVII.

1. *Glande aut lapidibus*] *Comp. Liv.* xxxviii. 21, *sagittis, glande, jaculis, configebantur*. *Glande* the collective sing. as c. 17, *arbore infecundus*. *Catil.* 50, *nonnulli equites Romani...gladio minitabantur*.

2. *Succedere*] With acc. or dat. *succedere murum* or *moenibus*, or with prep. *ad*, *propius ad rem altam arduamque accedere*. So in Greek, *ὑπερῆσθαι*. Homer, *Il.* ii. 492, *μνησαίαθ' ὅσοι ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον*.

3. *Proelium [in] manibus facere*] Most of the MSS. read *in manibus*; scil. *facerent proelium in manibus*, i.e. *cominus*: but the phrase seems to want precise authority. Such phrases

as Sil. Ital. xii. 196, *stat campus et arma, Et Mars in manibus, and Lucan, vii. 253, In manibus vestris, quantus sit Caesar, habetis, rather mean "in your power to use."*

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. **Portam irrumpit]** For *in portam irr.* This poetical usage is affected by Sallust, comp. *Jugur.* 25; and imitated by Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 48; ii. 62. *Hist.* i. 61; iii. 47; iv. 15, 50, etc.).

2. **Nominis Romani]** "Of the fame of Rome." Comp. Livy iv. 33, *nominis Romani ac virtutis patrum vestraeque memores.* Lucan, viii. 798, *Romanum nomen et omne Imperium Magno est tumuli modus.*

3. **Pauci in pluribus minus frustrati]** "Being few in number, and therefore sparse in array, while the enemy being more numerous were more densely posted, they missed their aim less frequently of the two." *Frustrati*, passive.

4. **Propere... statim]** "Quickly... immediately." The cavalry are sent speedily, Marius himself immediately, without a moment's delay.

CHAPTER LIX.

1. **In proximo]** Scil. *loco*, "nearest to the enemy."

2. **Quivissent... facerent]** The imperf. does not stand for the plusq. perf., but indicates that the slaughter was still in progress when the Numidians had already been enabled to maintain their ground. Comp. Florus, iii. 3, 13, *Cimbri si statim infesto agmine urbem petissent, grande discrimen esset:* i.e. the Cimbri did not attack the city immediately, and accordingly the danger which was impending became averted. Cic. *Brut.* 10, *neque enim jam Troicis temporibus tantum laudis in dicendo Ulixi tribuisset Homerus... nisi jam tum esset honos eloquentiae;* i.e. great honour was already paid to eloquence at the time when Homer so praised Ulysses. Kritz *in loc.*

3. **Pedites cum equitibus permixti]** Of this mode of fighting among the Numidians, we read in Auct. *de Bell. Afric.* 69, *Numidae... mirabili velocitate praediti, qui inter equites pugnabant.* Caesar himself introduced this practice into his own legions.

4. **Victos dare]** i. q. *vincere:* an antique or poetical usage. It occurs frequently in Plautus. Comp. Liv. viii. 6, *sic stratas legiones Latinorum dabo.* Virg. *Aen.* xii. 437, *nunc te mea dextera bello Defensum dabit.* *Aen.* xi. 334, *quando tot stragis acervos Teucrorum tua dextra dedit.* So also *dicta dare* for *dicere.*

CHAPTER LX.

1. **Eo]** i.e. *eo loci, ibi*.
2. **Oppugnare, aut parare]** Scil. *oppidani*, "the townspeople opposed the Romans in person, or prepared means of defence." *Parare*, i. q. *instituire quae in rem et usum sint*.
3. **Sicuti audiri...possent]** "Howsoever they might make themselves heard."
4. **Niti corporibus]** "Gesticulated," i.e. "indicated by the motion of their bodies what they would have their comrades do."
5. **Studio suorum adstrictis]** "Engrossed with anxiety for their friends." *Studio* is ablat. Comp. Curt. vi. 8, *religione deum adstrictus*.
6. **Unae atque alterae]** Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 18, *adductus sum tuis et unis et alteris litteris*. *Unus* et *alter* signifies any small number. *Unus* in the plural is used with words that have no singular, or that are generally found in the plural: accordingly with *scalae*, "steps."

CHAPTER LXI.

1. **Ab Zama]** If it were meant that Metellus withdrew out of Zama, the preposition would be unnecessary; here it implies that he retired from before the town. Hand, *Tursell.* i. 10, foll.
2. **Ceterum exercitum]** "The rest of his army." *Ceterum*, that which is added to complete a thing, the complement: *reliquum*, that which remains after subtracting from a thing, the remnant.
3. **In provinciam]** The accus. is required by the idea of motion in *collocare*. So Caes. *B. G.* viii. 46, *in fines posuit*.
4. **Quae proxima.** "The part of the province which lies nearest to Numidia." The conjectural reading *qua* is unnecessary. Comp. *Jugur.* 78, *inter eos et frequentem Numidiam*, "the populous part of Numidia."
5. **De Massivae nece iudicium]** i. q. *iudicium necis*: as *Catil.* 35, *conscientia de culpa, i.e. culpa*. See c. 35, the story of the murder of Massiva, and Bomilcar's escape from judicial investigation.
6. **Per max. amicitiam]** "Through his close intimacy with Jugurtha."

CHAPTER LXII.

1. **Aliquando]** i. q. *tandem aliquando*, "at length." Comp. *Catil.* 52, *expergiscimini aliquando et capessite rempublicam.* *Jugur.* 14, *utinam aliquando apud Deos rerum humanarum cura oriatur.*

2. **Sibi consulant]** "Take care of themselves," i.e. abandon their sovereign. The phrase is generally used of persons whose affairs are desperate. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 141, *Quae juvet et melius quam tu tibi consulat opto.*

3. **Facturum...tradere]** "Promised to submit,...and was actually delivering up himself and his kingdom." *Imperata facere* is the proper formula for an unconditional surrender.

4. **Ad imperandum]** Not passive, as generally explained, "to be ordered, to receive orders;" but active, according to the proper signification of the gerund, "for Metellus to order, i.e. to dispose of." Comp. *Lucret.* i. 313, *annulus in digito subtenuatur habendo*, i.e. "by wearing it;" where observe *subter*, "from the inner side;" iv. 1062, *ulcus enim vivescit et inveterascit alendo*, "by cherishing it." *Quintil.* xi. 2, *memoria excolendo augetur*, "by cultivating it."

5. **Tisidium]** A place not elsewhere mentioned.

6. **Ex mala conscientia]** "Of his own bad conscience." Comp. above, *ex itinere*, *ex fuga*.

7. **Casus in servitium ex regno]** Comp. *Senec. Phoen.* 599, *In servitutem cadere de regno grave est.*

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. **Praeter vetustatem familiae]** "Except ancient descent." Marius was a new man of obscure origin, from the municipium of Arpinum in the country of the Volsci. He was a simple peasant, and had entered the legions as a common soldier. He rose to the consulship, which he enjoyed seven times, and was leader of the popular party at Rome against the nobles. Comp. *Jugur.* 85, *mihi spes omnes in memet sitae.* *Vell.* ii. 128, *Marium ignotae originis Romani nominis habuere principem.* *Val. Max.* vi. 9. 14, *ex illo Mario tam humili Arpini, tam ignobili Romae.* *Juvenal* viii. 246:

Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
Poscere mercedis alieno lassus aratro.

Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 11, ille arator Arpinas et manipularis imperator. Plutarch, *vit. Marii*, 3, γενόμενος δὲ γονέων παντάπασιν ἀδόξων, αὐτουργῶν τε καὶ πενήτων.

2. **Belli**] "In war," i.e. abroad; as *domi*, "at home:" the *genitivus loci*.

3. **Natus et...altus**] "Born and bred." So Cic. *de clar. Orat.* c. 10, urbs in qua et nata et alta est eloquentia.

4. **A populo petit**] The military tribunes were originally appointed by the imperator: after the year B.C. 362, they were elected, at least in part, by the people. Liv. vii. 5.

5. **Facile notus**] "Easily made known."

6. **Declaratur**] Scil. *tribunus* mil. The election made by ballot was announced by word of mouth. So Virg. *Aen.* v. 245, Victorem praeconis voce Cloanthum declarat.

7. **Ab eo magistratu**] i.e. post eum magistratum gestum.

8. **In potestatibus**] "Civil magistracies," opposed to *imperia*, military "commands." Cic. *de leg. Agrar.* ii. 7, omnes potestates, imperia, curationes ab universo pop. Rom. proficisci convenit.

9. **Ad id locorum**] "Up to that time," i.e. the time when the augurs advised him to indulge his utmost ambition. Comp. *postea* (*post ea*) *loci*, *interea* (*inter ea*) *loci*: *locus* signifying state, circumstances; and hence the time of such and such circumstances.

10. **Petere**] scil. *consulatum*. So c. 64, Marius ab Metello petendi gratia missionem rogat. Liv. xxxv. 10, multi et potentes petebant patricii plebeiique. Kritz cites in illustration of the usage, Cic. *de leg. Agr.* ii. 1, me per longo intervallo prope memoriae temporumque nostrorum primum hominem novum consulem fecistis, et eum locum, quem nobilitas praesidiis firmatum, atque omni ratione obvallatum tenebat, me duce rescidistis, virtutisque in posterum patere voluistis.

11. **Pollutus**] "Vile, unworthy."

CHAPTER LXIV.

1. **Eodem...quo cupido...hortabatur**] i. q. *ad quod*, the same point "to which." Comp. Horat. *Sat.* i. 1. 73,

Nescio quo valeat nummus, quem praebet usum.

2. **Superabant**] i. q. *abunde erant*, "although he had a large share of good qualities." So *Catil.* 20.

3. **Tam prava]** "So monstrous:" *pravus* is crooked, deformed, as opposed to *rectus*, straight.

4. **Super fortunam]** "Beyond his condition." Comp. Prop. iii. 7. 2, *infra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam*.

5. **Caveret id petere]** This verb is joined with *ne*, *Jugur.* 62: with the conjunct. *Catil.* 58.

6. **Contubernio patris]** In attendance upon his father, as one of the young men who performed their first campaign in the immediate service of the imperator, and were called his *contubernales*, as though they dwelt in the same tent, *taberna*, with him. Compare, for the construction, *Suet. Jul.* 11, *stipendia prima in Asia fecit M. Thermi praetoris contubernio*.

7. **Annos natus circiter viginti]** The legal age of standing for the consulship was 43 years: hence the sarcasm of Metellus implied that Marius should wait 23 years more. At this time, B.C. 109, Marius (born B.C. 157) was 48 years of age.

8. **Ambitiosum]** "Calculated to obtain popularity:" applied to things as well as to persons. *Tac. Hist.* i. 12, *ambitiosis rumoribus*; i. 83, *ambitioso imperio*. So in Juvenal, *ambitiosa paupertas*, "solicitous of favours."

9. **Criminose...magnifice...loqui]** "Insinuating charges against Metellus, and talking bigly of himself with regard to the war." Kritz points to the distinction between *loqui*, "to speak" or "talk" generally, and *dicere*, "to make a speech."

10. **Quod homo inanis]** "Because the man was vain."

CHAPTER LXV.

1. **Secundum haeredem]** This must be understood in the Roman sense: the person to whom the inheritance was to descend in the event of the death or refusal of the first legatee.

2. **Imminuta]** "Weakened," Comp. *Tac. Hist.* ii. 93, *corpus otio, animum libidinibus imminuebant*.

3. **Uti sellam juxta poneret]** "That he might have the honour of seating himself by the side of Metellus."

4. **Honorem, quod]** Supply *negaverat*, "he refused him the honour inasmuch as."

5. **Anxium]** "Mortified."

6. **Secunda oratione]** "By language which followed up his own views," i. e. "a flattering speech." *Ovid, Art. Am.* i. 584, *neu dubites illi verba secunda loqui*.

7. **Id adeo]** "That this indeed."

8. **Equites Romanos]** i. e. Roman knights, principally those who farmed the revenues in the provinces under the name of *publicani*. Many of the traders in the provinces were also of this enterprising class.

9. **Suffragatione]** "Favour or recommendation;" differing from *suffragium*, "vote."

10. **Mamiliam]** See above, c. 40.

11. **Extollebat]** "Was elevating to honours."

CHAPTER LXVI.

1. **Affectare]** "To conciliate," "to make one's own by favour and interest." Comp. Vell. ii. 39, Gallias saepe et affectavimus et amisimus. So above, c. 64, honor quem affectabat.

2. **Amiserat]** "Had neglected and let go." So amittere occasionem. Comp. the passage of Velleius in last note.

3. **Vagenses, quo]** "The people of Vaga, at which place," *quo (loco)* for *quibus*. Comp. Liv. xxi. 27, urbem Arcuam quo Hasdrubal frumenta convexerat.

After *Vagenses...fatigati...alienati*, the construction is changed, and *principes* becomes the subject to the pred. *conjurant*.

4. **Neque antea voluntate alienati]** "And who before had not abandoned him of their own accord."

5. **Discordiosum]** "Full of contention:" the termination in *osus* is emphatic. A. Gellius, iv. 9, cites the learned Nigidius Figulus: hoc inquit, inclinamentum semper hujuscemodi verborum, ut vinosus, mulierosus, religiosus, nummosus, signat copiam quandam immodicam rei super qua dicitur.

6. **Constituunt]** "Make an appointment:" so constituere cum aliquo, or alicui. Terent. *Hec*. i. 2. 121, nam constitui cum quodam hospite me illum esse conventurum. Juvenal, iii. 12, Hic ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae.

7. **Iudum et lasciviam]** "Sports and recreations:" *lascivia* from *laxus* signifies relaxation of mind or body.

8. **Tumultus ipse]** i. e. *per se*, "disturbance for its own sake."

CHAPTER LXVII.

1. **Ad arcem...praesidium]** The verb "erat" or "stabat" omitted *emphasis gratia*. Comp. Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 296:

Stat Venus Ultori juncta, vir ante fores.

2. **Pro tectis]** "From the very edge of the roof."

3. **Anceps malum]** "The double danger," from the women and children, as well as from the men.

4. **Nisi...videtur]** "Except that (i.e. I only know that) he seems, etc."

5. **Intestabilis]** "Accursed," properly, one who for his crimes is forbidden by law to make or witness a will. Ulpian, *Dig.* xxviii. i. 18, si quis ob crimen famosum damnatur, senatus consulto expressum est, ut intestabilis sit, ergo nec testamentum facere poterit, nec ad testamentum adhiberi poterit.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1. **Paullisper...abit]** "Withdraws for a short time in vexation."

2. **Ira et aegritudo permixta]** "When his vexation began to give place to resentment." For the construction see above on c. 52.

3. **Ultum ire]** Comp. *Catil.* 36, perditum irent.

4. **Fessos .et jam abnuentes]** Comp. Lucan, viii. 3, Cornipedem exhaustum cursu stimulisque negantem.

5. **Non amplius mille passuum]** Supply *spatio*, or *intervallo*. In some writers, however, *mille* is used as a substantive, as Nepos, *Milt.* 5, ea civitas mille misit militum. Liv. xxiii. 44, mille passuum erant inter urbem castraque. xxi. 61, transgressus Iberum cum octo millibus peditum, mille equitum.

6. **Ostentat]** "Shews from a distance, offers or promises."

7. **In primo late]** "In the van in loose order," opposed to *aretissime*: so as to cover much ground and be conspicuous. *Late*, a conjecture for *latere*, the common reading, has been confirmed by some MSS.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1. **Rursum or rursus]** "On the contrary," properly, "turning back in an opposite direction."

2. **Amplius...posse]** More usually, *plus posse*. But comp. *Jugur.* 111, *quoniam armis amplius valuissent*.

3. **Ex perfidia]** "Since the day of their treachery." For this sense of *ex*, see above, c. 36.

4. **Opulens]** Sallust uses the common form, *opulentus*, in *Catil.* 53, *Jugur.* 10, 75, and elsewhere; but *opulenter*, *Jugur.* 85. So *violens* in Horat. *Carm.* iii. 30, *Dicar qua violens obstrepiit Aufidus*.

5. **Poenae...aut praedae fuit]** "Was subjected to punishment, i.e. massacre, or plunder." *Poenae esse* could hardly be admissible by itself, but the meaning is understood from *praedae esse*.

6. **Capite poenas solvit]** "Is executed."

7. **Nam is civis ex Latio erat]** "For he was a citizen of the Latin rank or order;" i. e. only had the Latin franchise. By the *lex Porcia* a genuine Roman citizen might not be beaten with rods. This exemption had been extended to the Latins by a *lex* of M. Livius Drusus, A.U. 632, *Plut. C. Gracch.* 9, but seems to have been disregarded. The story of Turpilius is told somewhat differently by Plutarch, *Mar.* 8. According to this writer the charge against him was false, and got up by Marius, who instigated Metellus to put him to death to gratify his own malice against the imperator, whose retainer Turpilius had been.

CHAPTER LXX.

1. **Suspiciens]** i. q. *suspectans*, "suspecting." The word, it is said, is not found elsewhere in this sense, except in the *pass. part.*; but this sense is more easily attributed to it here because *suspectus* immediately precedes.

2. **Omnia tentando]** This is to be distinguished from *omnia tentans* "in the course of trying everything," and from *omnibus tentatis*, "after everything had been tried." It implies that what follows, *socium sibi adjungit N.*, was a result of his trying various schemes.

3. **Majoribus adstricto]** *scil. rebus*. "Occupied by more important affairs."

4. **Quae superaverant]** i. q. *restiterant*, *superfuerant*, "remained over;" or "undone." Comp. A. Gell, i. 22, on the ancient use of this word. Virgil: *captae superavimus urbi*.

CHAPTER LXXI.

1. **Aegrum animum]** "A mind ill at ease, vexed and harassed."

2. **Neque epistolam...et rem omnem]** "Neither...and," equivalent to "not...but." Lucan, i. 134:

Nec reparare novas vires, multumque priori
Crederet fortunæ.

Jugur. 85, ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint.

3. **Super tali scelere]** i. q. *de*; rare in prose writers of the golden age: never in Caesar, twice only in Cicero, in his letters, once in Sallust, once in Nepos. Dietsch, in loc. But comp. Virgil. *Aen.* i. 750:

Multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa.

CHAPTER LXXII.

1. **Aliter, etc.]** i.e. *placide*.

2. **Iram oppresserat]** "He had suppressed his anger at the slaughter," &c. Comp. Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 14, dolorem opprimi dico patientia.

3. **Circumspectare]** "He examined anxiously and timidly." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 69, *Hist.* iv. 8, animus novo principatu suspensus et vultus quoque et sermones omnium circumspectans. Cic. *in Pison.* 41, circumspectantem omnia, quicquid increpisset pertimescentem vidi.

4. **Arreptis armis]** Cortius in loc. explains; *quasi adessent qui vim pararent*.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

1. **Indicio patefacto]** An incorrect expression for *insidiis per indices patefactis*: "to disclose" is properly *indicium facere*, not *patefacere*.

2. **Ad integrum bellum]** "A fresh war," i.e. a war exhausted or finished in no particular, in no quarter. Comp. Curt. ix. 4, integrum bellum cum ferocissimis Indiae gentibus superesse cognoverant.

3. **Fatigantem de profectio[n]e]** "Importuning him for leave of absence."

4. **Moderata sunt]** "As regarded either, party views influenced the people more than the good or evil qualities of the men themselves;" i.e. the merits of Marius or demerits of Me-

tellus. *Sua* for *eorum*; as *Catil.* 21, cupiditatis suae. 58, domi suae. *Jugur.* 9, habes virum dignum te atque avo suo. *Bona* and *mala* used for virtues and vices, as *Jugur.* 85, 108, ob ingenii multa bona.

5. **Capitis arcessere]** "Accused of a capital crime." This is said hyperbolically of the vehement denunciations of the tribunes.

6. **In majus celebrare]** Imitated perhaps from Thueyd. i. 21, ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασιν περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες, and repeated by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 8, omnia in majus celebrata sunt. See also xv. 30. Liv. xxviii. 31, in majus accipere.

7. **Res fidesque]** There is a familiar opposition in these words thus conjoined, as we say, "cash and credit." Comp. Plaut. *Trucul.* i. 1. 24, extemplo et ipse perit et res et fides. 38, quum rem fidemque nosque nosmet perdimus.

8. **In manibus]** "In their daily labour." Comp. *Catil.* 37, in manuum mercede.

9. **Post multas tempestates]** "After many recurring years:" *tempestates* implies the seasons of election duly recurring.

10. **Ea res frustra fuit]** Comp. *Jugur.* 7 and note 9. *Frustra* derived from *fraus*, which signifies properly "disappointment in events or things," *dolus* "deceit in persons." Hor. *Od.* ii. 19. 19, coerees...Bistonidum sine fraude crines, "without hurt or harm." "The decree of the senate was quashed." The appointment of the provinces belonged of right to the people, but the senate generally recommended, and gradually usurped the prerogative in ordinary cases. Sometimes, however, the people insisted upon exercising their privilege, and the senate was forced to give way.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

1. **Varius incertusque]** "Changeable and uncertain as to his plans."

2. **In dies mutare]** i. q. *in singulos dies*, from day to day. So *in horas.* Hor. *Od.* ii. 13. 13:

Quod quisque vitet nunquam homini satis
Cautum est in horas.

3. **Quocumque intenderat]** Scil. *animum*, "whatever course he had resolved on." The plusq. perf. shews that *intendere* implies a moral act, a plan or intention, which must precede the physical movement. If Sallust had meant to say, "in whatever direction he moved," he must have used the imperf.

4. *Aliquanto numero*] "A good many," opposed to *pau-
corum*.

5. *Ferme*] A more ancient form than *fere*. Varro, *De
Ling. Lat.* vii. 5.

6. *Tuta sunt*] "Protected:" the partic. of *tuor* or *tueor*.
But some MSS. read here *tutata*, the form which has been re-
tained in *Jugur.* 52; *Liv.* x. 37; *Plin. H. N.* vii. proem.; and
which should probably be read here.

CHAPTER LXXV.

1. *Tnala*] Supposed by Mannert to be the Telepte of the
Itinerarium Antonini, a place on the northern edge of the de-
sert which lies between Numidia and the lesser Syrtis and lacus
Tritonis. Shaw identifies it with the modern Ferreanah.

2. *Multus pueritiae cultus*] "Great provision for bring-
ing up his children;" i.e. the women, slaves, attendants upon
them, &c.

3. *Domiti pecoris*] "Cattle broken to service." Comp.
Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 60, *efficimus domitu nostro quadrupedum
vectiones*.

4. *Eoque*] Adverbial. Comp. c. 47, *huc...imposuit*.

5. *Ubi praesto fuerint*] This or *fuerit* is the reading of
the MSS. Kritz, contrary to his usual deference to the MSS.,
conjectures *forent*, as the more appropriate tense. But *fuerint*
implies that the people "shall be already there," "shall have
already arrived," when Metellus comes up.

6. *Ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat*] i. q. *eo
ventum quo Numidis convenire praeceperat*.

7. *Officia intenderant*] "Had done their part zealously;"
"had stretched their aid to the utmost." Comp. *Tacit. Hist.*
i. 24, *largitionem Otho praemiis intendebat*.

8. *Religione*] "From a superstitious feeling," i.e. be-
lieving the rain to be sent them by the gift of the gods.

9. *Locorum asperitate*] "The wildness of the country
that lay between." Comp. *Jugur.* 89, where the same phrase is
explained: *nam praeter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta,
inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus*.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

1. **Nihil infectum]** “Nothing impossible:” the perf. part. pass. becomes equivalent to the adjct. in *-bilis*. So *invictus* (quasi *invincibilis*), *incorruptus*, *inaccessus*, &c. This usage seems to prevail in regard to words which have no adjectival form in *-bilis*.

2. **Ceteris imperitantem]** “Which controls all others.”

3. **Locis ex copia maxime idoneis]** “At spots the most suitable of all that offered.”

4. **Vineas agere]** See *Jugur.* 37, not. 5.

5. **Administros]** The word is specially used of military engineers and “pioneers.” *Caes. Bell. Gall.* vii. 81, quae ad oppugnationem pertinent administrare.

6. **Nihil reliquum fieri]** “Nothing was left undone.”

7. **Multo ante labore...fatigati]** “Fatigued with much previous toil,” i.e. qui autea fuit. *Comp. Virg. Aen.* i. 198, neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum. *Catull.* iv. 11, Ubi ille post phaselus (i.e. qui postea fuit) antea fuit Comata sylvia. *Comp.* also *Plaut. Amphitr.* ii. 2. 138, Tu intus pateram (i.e. quae intus est) proferto foras. *Hor. Od.* iv. 6. 3, Trojae prope victor, i.e. qui prope fuit. *Lucan.* vi. 363, et tuus Oeneu Paene gener: i.e. qui paene fuit.

8. **Corrupta]** “Destroyed:” as immediately below, *igni corruptunt*.

9. **Onerati]** “Laden.” *Comp. Curt.* iv. 4, oneravere se vino. *Justin.* i. 8; *Suet. Tib.* 61. *Comp. Hor. Sat.* ii. 2. 78, corpus onustum Hesternis vitis.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

1. **Suam salutem, illorum socios]** *Asyndeton*: “their own safety and the allies of Rome;” i.e. the *Leptitans* would risk the safety of their state, and the *Romans* the advantages of their alliance.

2. **Gnave]** “Sedulously.” The MSS. mostly read *nave*, some *navi*. I write *gnave* for the sake of clearness.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

1. **Inter duas Syrtis]** The greater and the lesser *Syrtis*, mod. the gulf of *Sidra*, and the gulf of *Khabs*: deep bays in the northern coast of *Africa*, in which the tide has some influ-

ence. They are obstructed with shifting sand-banks, accumulated by the currents of the outer sea, some of which are uncovered at low water. Sallust derives their name, in accordance with the ideas of the Greek geographers, from the verb *σῦρειν*, "to drag," from the stones, &c. dragged along the bottom by the force of the waves. But the words *Syrtes ab tractu nominatae* found in most MSS. seem to be a gloss taken from Isidorus the grammarian, who says, referring to this passage, *nomen are inditum*, Syrtes Sallustius a tractu vocari dicit. Sallust describes the Syrtes as having deep water near the land, but shallow from the sand-banks farther out, like the Downs and the Yarmouth Roads. Lucan's description may give an idea of what the ancients thought of them, ix. 303 :

Syrtes vel primam mundo Natura figuram
 Cum daret, in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit:
 (Nam neque subsedit penitus, quo stagna profundo
 Acciperet, nec se subduxit ab aequore tellus,
 Ambigua sed lege loci jacet in via sedes,
 Aequora fracta vadis, abruptaque terra profundo,
 Et post multa sonant projecti littora fluctus:
 Sic male deseruit nullosque exegit in usus
 Hanc partem Natura sui:) vel plenior alto
 Olim Syrtis erat pelago, penitusque natabat:
 Sed rapidus Titan ponto sua lumina pascens
 Aequora subduxit zonae vicina perustae,
 Et nunc pontus adhuc Phoebæo siccante repugnat.
 Mox ubi daunosum radios admoverit aevum
 Tellus Syrtis erit: nam jam brevis unda superne
 Innatat, et late periturum deficit aequor.

2. **In extrema Africa]** "At the eastern extremity, near to the frontiers of Egypt."

3. **Quorum proxima...]** "The water near the shore is very deep, the rest of the bay, is *as it may be*, some places deep, others shallow, according to tide and wind:" i. q. *alta alia, alia...vadosa*. Comp. for this suppression of *alium*, Tac. *Ann.*, i. 63, ut opus (alii) et alii praeium inciperent.

4. **Mare magnum]** "Stormy sea." Comp. Lucret. ii. 1, *Suave mari magno, turbantibus aequora ventis*. Catull. xxv. 12, *velut minuta magno Deprensa navis in mari, vesaniante vento*.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

1. **Per Leptitanorum negotia]** "From our commerce with the people of Leptis." *Per*, like the Gr. *διὰ*, has sometimes the sense of "from, for, on account of." Comp. *Jugur.* 85, qui per ambitionem probos sese simulavere. 99, ne signa quidem, uti per vigiliis canere. *Fragm. Hist. Inc.* 65, multa primo per ignobilitatem, deinde per invidiam scriptorum parum celebrata sunt.

2. **Pleraque Africae]** The reading of all the MSS. It is to be remarked, however, that the grammarian Arusianus Messus cites *pleraque Africa* in illustration of the phrase *impe- rat hac regione*. See *Corp. Gramm.* i. 237, ed. Lindemann.

3. **Una specie]** "Of uniform appearance;" i.e. all sand without intermission.

4. **Habuit]** "Kept." Comp. Liv. x. 2, *semper eos in armis accolae Galli habebant*. *Jugur.* 94, *toto die intentos bello Numidas habuerat*.

5. **Nuda gignentium]** "Devoid of vegetable life." Comp. *Jugur.* 93, of plants, *quo cuncta gignentium natura fert*. It is opposed to animal life in *Lactant. de Ira Dei*, i. 13, *multa esse in gignentibus et in numero animalium*.

6. **Coortus]** Of winds and tempests, and hence transl. of seditions, *Virg. Aen.* i. 148. Of the sand-storms in Libya see the wild description in *Lucan*, ix. 458:

Regna videt pauper Nasamon errantia vento, &c.

7. **Ob rem corruptam]** "For the detriment done to their country's interest."

8. **Aliam condicionem, etc.]** "Some other means of arriv- ing at an agreement, as long as it should be a fair one."

9. **Carthaginiensibus]** *Carthaginiensium*, the MSS. with few exceptions: but such a construction seems inadmissible.

10. **Ibi]** Scil. *in illis finibus quos pop. suo peterent*: by attraction.

11. **Aras consecravere]** For the *Philaenon arae*, see above, c. 19. Such *arae* were not raised as sacrificial altars, but were pillars erected for monuments. Thus Alexander the Great erected twelve altars at the furthest limit of his advance into India. *Curt.* ix. 3, *erigi duodecim aras ex quadrato saxo, mon- umentum expeditionis suae, jussit*. *Cic. Philipp.* xiv. 13, *quae sit ad memoriam aeternitatis ara virtutis*.

CHAPTER LXXX.

1. **Ordines habere]** "To keep their ranks," i.q. *servare, observare, agnoscere*.

2. **Filia Bocchi]** Jugurtha had married the daughter of Bocchus. Comp. *Flor.* iii. 1. 17, *fraudentissimus regum fraude soceri sui in insidias deductus est*. So also *Plutarch, vit. Sull.* 3; *Mar.* 10. Nevertheless, some of the best MSS. read *Boccho*, reversing the affinity.

3. *ea necessitudo*] "That tie of family connexion."

4. *Sed reges eo amplius*] "So much the more, inasmuch as they have greater means:" referring to *pro opibus quisque*.

5. *Pro socia obtinet*] "Takes the place of a partner in the throne."

CHAPTER LXXXI.

1. *Placitum*] "Acceptable, agreed upon." This participle is mostly poetical. Comp. Virg. *Aen.* iv. 38, *placitone etiam pugnabis amori?* But also used by Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 66, *nec tamen Caesar placitas semel artes mutavit.* The neuter, *placitum*, as a substantive, "a decree," is found in the elder Pliny.

2. *Profunda avaritia*] Comp. Cic. *in Pison.* 21, *profundae libidines.* Senec. *Epist.* 89, *profunda et insatiabilis gula.*

3. *Aliis talibus*] We have already had *alia talia* in c. 44, and again in 64, 72, in this place, and once more in c. 35. Comp. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 228:

Talibus atque aliis in quae dolor ipse disertum fecerat.

4. *Operae pretium*] Scil. *sibi*, "worth his while." Sometimes *operae* stands alone, sometimes *pretium*.

5. *Bocchi pacem imminuere*] "To disturb the peace which Bocchus had hitherto kept with Rome:" *imminuere*, i. q. *dissolvere*.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

1. *Cognitis Mauris*] "After reconnoitring the Moors:" i. e. "when he should have ascertained what kind of enemy the Moors would prove, what was their manner of fighting, &c."

2. *Ex commodo pugnam facere*] "To engage at a favourable opportunity."

3. *Molliter pati*] "In an unmanly way." Caes. *Bell. Gall.* iii. 19, *Gallorum animus mollis est ad calamitates perferendas.*

4. *In superbiam vertebant*] Properly, "transferred or rendered into pride," i. e. attributed to pride, instead of the real feeling.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

1. **Sumi facile]** Comp. Tacit. *Hist.* iv. 69, *sumi bellum etiam ab ignavis, strenuissimi cujusque periculo geri.*

2. **Conventura]** "Would be settled amicably." Things are said *convenire* when both parties agree about them: so, *pax convenit.* Liv. xxiv. 27, *Marcellus posse rem convenire ratus.*

3. **Contra]** "In reply to."

4. **Bellum intactum trahi]** "The war was protracted, and nothing done." *Bellum trahi* is a common phrase; but *intactum* is added *per oxymorum*; being a contradiction in sense for the sake of emphasis. "The war was protracted, or indeed not even commenced."

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

1. **Cupientissima plebe]** i. q. *optime cupiente*, "with the warmest approbation of the commonalty."

2. **Ei provinciam Numid. populus jussit]** i. e. *decrevit. Jubere*, with the accus. of the object, expresses a decree of the people in the comitia. Cic. *pro Balb.* 17, *responderem legem populum Rom. jussisse.* Liv. xxi. 17, *quod bellum populus Rom. jussisset.* The person in whose interest the decree is made is in the dative.

3. **Populus]** "The Roman people," comprehending all classes, and opposed to *plebs*, "the commonalty." *Populus*, according to Niebuhr, is properly the patrician class, opposed to the plebeian; but this correct usage was neglected by the best authors, and perhaps they were not fully aware of it.

4. **Multus...instare]** Comp. the Greek phrase in Thuc. iv. 22, *Κλέων δὲ ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολὺς ἐνέκειτο.*

5. **Illis dolentia]** i. e. *quae illi dolerent*, or *dolorem afferrent*, "causing pain." Comp. Ovid, *Met.* iv. 246, *nil illo fertur...vidisse dolentius.* So *vulnus dolet*, i. e. *dolorem facit.*

6. **Plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos]** "Most of them known to him in actual service, a few only by report:" *militiae* is the genitive of place, like *domi*, and is equivalent to *foris*, as those who serve in the army serve abroad. The double construction with the same verb is found elsewhere in Sallust: as *Catil.* 33, *plerique patriae sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes.* Comp. *Jugur.* 74.

7. **Ambiēdo]** “Soliciting man by man, as in a canvass.”

8. **Emeritis stipendiis]** “Those who had completed their term of service:” properly, “who had earned all their annual stipends for military service.” At this period the legitimate term of service was twenty years for the foot and ten for the horse. The Roman legionary first received pay A.U. 347, according to Livy, iv. 59, *additum deinde ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, quum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset*. Niebuhr (*Hist. Rom.* ii. 438, Engl. Tr.) questions this statement, believing that pay was not given till a later period.

9. **Plebi militia volenti]** This dat. *volenti* is a Graecism. Comp. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 23, ἀσμένῳ δέ σοι ἡ ποικιλείμων νύξ ἀποκρύψει φάος, and among prose writers Thuc. ii. 3; vii. 35, and other authors. It is frequently imitated in Latin, e.g. Liv. xxi. 50; Tac. *Ann.* i. 59; *Hist.* iii. 43; *Agric.* 18. See also above, *Jugur.* 4, *uti militibus labor volentibus esset*.

10. **Belli usum]** i.e. *ea quae bello usui sunt*, “the requisites of war,” i.e. “men.” Comp. Cic. *in Ferr.* ii. iv. 5, *illum usum provinciae supplere*.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

1. **Scio ego]** The pronoun is expressed for emphasis. “I for my part.” Comp. below, *equidem ego*.

2. **Mihi contra ea videtur]** “To me the opposite course to this seems the best.”

3. **Administrari...debere]** Governed by *videtur* understood from the preceding clause.

4. **Cum maximo beneficio vestro]** “In conjunction with the very great favour, i.e. the consulate, &c. which you have conferred upon me.” Comp. below, *in max. vestro beneficio*.

5. **Eos]** There is peculiar force in the pronoun: “such men as you would not wish to offend.”

6. **Opinione...asperius est]** “Is more difficult than people think.”

7. **Nam alia infirma sunt]** “For my other supports are feeble:” supply *tutamina mea*.

8. **Procedunt]** i. q. *bene cedunt*, “succeed.” Comp. Cic. *de Orat.* i. 27, *nonnunquam summis oratoribus non satis ex sententia eventum dicendi procedere*.

9. **Illi frustra sint]** "They may be disappointed." Comp. above, c. 7, 14, and the phrase which follows, *ita...fui*.

10. **Consueta habeam]** "Am constantly accustomed to:" the continuative force of *habeo*.

11. **In potestatibus]** "In the enjoyment of magistracies."

12. **Temperare]** Scil. *sibi*.

13. **Bene facere]** Scil. *reipublicae*, i.e. *bene mereri de republ.*, "the honourable discharge of my duties to the state has become natural to me through habit."

14. **Ex illo globo nobilitatis]** "Of that band of nobles:" *globus*, a military term, implying a small number in dense array, used here invidiously of the nobility, as a handful of conspirators.

15. **Veteris prosapiae]** "Of ancient lineage:" *prosapia*, and *prosapias*, from *supo* (hence *dissipo*) to scatter, spread: figurative from the spreading branches of a tree. The word was antique in Cicero's time (ut utamur veteri verbo: Cic. *Timae*. 11. (*fragm.* Orell.) and obsolete in that of Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* i. 6).

16. **Nullius stipendii]** "Who have gained no pay," i.e. "have seen no service."

17. **Sui]** Added emphasis *gratia*: "a duty which should be his own, and no one's else."

18. **Imperare jussistis]** Some MSS. read *imperatorem*, which is more emphatic, and may be compared with Liv. i. 17, quem populus regem jussisset. i. 22; iii. 30.

19. **Homines praeposteri]** *Praep.* in its proper sense, from *prae* and *post*, "who put the cart before the horse:" *homines*, contemptuously.

20. **Gerere quam fieri, etc.]** *Gerere magistratum*, "the discharge of magistracy," succeeds in point of time to *fieri*, i.e. *creari magist.*, "being appointed a magistrate:" whereas shewing oneself fit for the appointment ought properly to precede the being appointed.

21. **Partem vidi, alia egomet gessi]** Comp. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 5, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi, Et quorum pars magna fui. The adv. *partim* might stand equally well with the genitive, but there is no sufficient authority for it in this place.

22. **Illi literis]** Comp. Cic. *pro Font.* 15. C. Marius, P. Didius, Q. Catulus...non literis homines ad rei militaris scientiam, sed rebus gestis ac victoriis eruditi.

23. Vos existimate] Emphatic: "judge ye for yourselves."

24. Fortissimum quemque generosiss.] Comp. Juvenal, viii. 20, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.

25. Vestros honores] "The honours you have to bestow."

26. Ita hos petunt] "So seek the same," i.e. your honours.

27. Falsi sunt] "Are deceived."

28. Posteris lumen] Many MSS. read *quasi lumen*; and this particle is frequently inserted, to soften the harshness of a metaphor: as Cic. *de Off.* ii. 9, honestum decorumque quasi perlucet ex iis quas commemoravi virtutibus.

29. In conscientiam duceret] "Construe into a consciousness of guilt." Comp. above, ch. 82, in superbiam vertebant. 92, in virtutem trahebantur.

30. Ex animi mei sententia] The pronoun, omitted in many MSS., seems to be required in solemn asseverations of this kind. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* iii. 29, quod ex animi tui sententia juraris, sicut verbis concipitur more nostro, id non facere perjurium est. And A. Gell. iv. 20, verba ita erant concepta ut tu ex animi tui sententia uxorem habes.

31. Fidei causa] Scil. *dandae*, "in confirmation of what I say."

32. Hastas, vexillum, phaleras] The *hasta* was presented to deserving soldiers (*Festus* in voc.), and was called *pura*, as having no iron head. The *vexillum* was a streamer at the end of a spear: *phalerae*, trappings for horses: the *alia dona militaria* were *torques* and *catellae*, chains, *armillae*, bracelets, *fibulae*, clasps, *coronae*, crowns or chaplets of various kinds. Most of these are enumerated among the trophies of Siccus Dentatus, by A. Gellius, ii. 11. Comp. Juvenal, xvi. ult., laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes.

33. Neque literas Graecas didici] Plutarch, who has made much use of this oration in describing the character of Marius, repeats that he despised the manners and literature of the Greeks on the account here mentioned, that they did not save that people from conquest by the Romans, and imputes to this morose pride much of the barbarity of his actions. ὥσπερ οὖν Ξενοκράτει τῷ φιλοσόφῳ σκυθρωποτέρῳ δοκοῦντι τὸ ἦθος εἶναι, πολλάκις εἰώθει λέγειν ὁ Πλάτων· ὦ μακάριε Ξενοκράτες θύε ταῖς χάρισιν· οὕτως εἴ τις ἔπεισε Μάριον θύειν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς

Μούσαις καὶ χάρισιν, οὐκ ἂν εὐπρεπεστάταις στρατηγίαις καὶ πολιτείαις ἀμορφωτάτην ἐπέθηκε κορωνίδα, ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλαρχίας ἄωρου, καὶ πλεονεξιῶν ἀπαρηγορήτων, εἰς ὀμότατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον γῆρας ἐξοκέilas. Plut. in Mar. 2. The Pseudo-Sallust, *Ep. ad Caes. de Ordin. Republ.* has the same idea: Quippe qui domi libertatem suam per inertiam amiserint, censesne eorum praeceptis imperium haberi posse?

34. **Civile]** "Befitting a citizen," moderate and humane; the condescension of superiors to their inferiors. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 72, Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi. Lucan, vii. 267:

Plebeiaque toga modicum componere civem.

35. **Dominum non imperatorem]** Martial says of the emperor Trajan: Hic non est dominus sed imperator, Sed justissimus omnium senator. Marking the essential distinction of the legitimate authority of the commander of an army and the self-will of the master of a family of slaves.

36. **Repetere]** Used of exacting payment of a debt. *Jugur.* 96, Sulla aes mutuum ab nullo repetere. Cic. *Tusc.* i. 39; *ad Div.* xi. 28, etc.

37. **Histrionem]** "A buffoon or dancer for the amusement of guests at table." Livy derives the word from the Tuscan *hister*. vii. 2, Quia hister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum. For the introduction of this species of luxury, and of artists in cookery, &c. see Livy, xxxix. 6. Comp. Macrobian *Saturn.* ii. 13.

38. **Habeo]** i.e. in this place, *possideo*. The *villicus*, or bailiff, was a praedial slave of rough manners and without education.

39. **Munditias]** "Elegancies." Comp. Liv. xxxiv. 7, munditiae et ornatus et cultus, haec foeminarum insignia sunt: hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt majores nostri.

40. **Sudcrem, pulverem]** The Romans living in a warm climate generally describe active endurance as the power of bearing heat and dust, while we northerns more commonly speak of endurance of cold. On the other hand, we call a lazy drone a chimney-corner fellow; the Romans described him as *umbratilis*, one who sought the shade for coolness and repose.

41. **Militaris aetas]** "Age for military service," i.e. from 17 to 46.

42. **Juxta geram]** "I will ever keep my own interests and yours closely conjoined."

43. *Decebat*] The imperf. indie. follows the subjunc. implying the certainty of the event which depends upon the antecedent condition. "Even though all these things were doubtful or distant, yet undoubtedly it is always fitting that good men should succour the commonwealth." Comp. Cic. *pro leg. Manil.* 17, quod si Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat diligendus atque mittendus.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

1. *Non more majorum, neque ex classibus*] Two particulars are here mentioned in which Marius forsook the ancient institution: instead of convening the people in the Campus Martius, and calling them by their centuries for enlistment, he allowed them to offer themselves indiscriminately—*uti cujusque lubido erat*—for service: and instead of selecting the soldiers exclusively from the five superior classes, arranged according to their census, he enlisted most of his men from the sixth or lowest of all, the members of which, having no fortunes, were only polled, *capite censi*. This practice was continued in later times, and the Roman soldiers, instead of having a stake and interest in the institutions of the commonwealth, became for the most part needy men, who served only for pay and plunder. But the concentration of property in fewer hands, and the diminution of the class of small proprietors, rendered this course of proceeding imperative. Comp. Plutarch. *Mar. c.* 9.

2. *Inopia bonorum*] "For want of good men," i.e. men of substance.

3. *Auctus*] "Advanced," i.e. in power, fame, or honours.

4. *Et homini, etc.*] A new clause, not dependent upon the preceding *quod*, but expressing the writer's own judgment on Marius's motives.

5. *Neque sua curae*] i. q. *et sua non curae*.

6. *Cum*] Signifies "on condition of." So Cic. *Tusc. i.* 49, multis videmus optabiles mortes fuisse cum gloria.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

1. *Praeda*] "Objects for booty."

2. *Diversi*] "In different directions."

3. *Futuros*] For this pregnant combination of the adverb with the verb, compare *Jugur.* 7, frustra erat. 14, tutius essem: and other places noticed above. *Laxius* refers to their discipline, *licentius* to their behaviour.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

1. **Metellus interea, etc.]** For the honours paid to Metellus see c. 43, note 1. At a later period he was driven into exile by the influence of a tribune named Saturninus, and once more restored to his country, notwithstanding the opposition of Marius.

2. **Contra spem suam]** "Contrary to his expectation."

3. **In itinere]** "On their way."

4. **Armīs exuerat]** "Had stripped of his arms," i.e. had put to flight and compelled to cast away his arms. Comp. Liv. xxii. 21; Caes. B. G. iii. 6.

5. **Belli patrāndi]** "Such as would bring the war to a close." Comp. Liv. xxxix. 16, *judicabant nihil aequae dissolvendae religionis esse.*

6. **Pro hostibus et adversus se]** "Advantageous to the enemy and disadvantageous to himself."

7. **Solitus]** Supply *fuērit*, implied in *simulaverit*. Comp. *Jugur.* 113, *ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus parum comperimus*; where supp. *promiserit*, from the preceding clause.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

1. **In manus venturum]** "Would engage." Tac. *Hist.* iv. 71, *ut ventum in manus deturbati praecipitantur.*

2. **Magnum atque valens]** "Large in size and abounding in resources."

3. **Capsa]** A city lying between the Bagrada and the lacus Tritonis. Strabo calls it the treasury (*γαζοφυλάκιον*) of Jugurtha.

4. **Hercules Iibys]** The Libyan Hercules is the same as the Tyrian and the Phoenician, Herod. ii. 44: the legendary discoverer and conqueror of Africa in the Carthaginian mythology.

5. **Immunes]** "Free from contributions."

6. **Una]** Scil. *aqua*, "a single spring of water:" *jugis*, "unfailing." *Jugis* differs from *perennis*: the one is "unfailing," the other "ever-flowing," from *per* and *amnis*. Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 654, *Amne perenne latens Auna Perenna vocor*. Doederlein, *Synon.* ii. 13, 31, derives the word *jugis* from *diu*.

CHAPTER XC.

1. *Pabulo...quam arvo student]* "Use pasture more than arable land."

2. *Ad oppidum Laris]* This is probably the old acc. plu. for *Lares*. The same place seems to be mentioned by St Augustine under the form *Laribus*.

3. *Prædabundum]* "In the course of a predatory expedition."

CHAPTER XCI.

1. *Distribuerat...curabat]* The plusq. perf. marks the idea in the mind of the writer, that the distribution had been already made, when the making of the skins into bags began: as if he had said, *ex coriis pecorum, quæ quotidie distribuerat, utres uti fierent curabat*.

2. *Sexto die, quum, etc.]* i. q. *sexto die, ex quo*, "the sixth day after arriving inclusive." Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* x. 23, *collegam triduo, quum has dabam literas, expectabam.* xv. 14, *multi anni sunt quum ille in aere meo est*. The same might be expressed by *post sextum diem quam*.

3. *Ubi dies coepit]* "At break of day." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 25, *simul coeptus dies*.

4. *Res trepidæ]* "The confusion of their affairs," or "into which they were thrown." Comp. Virg. *Aen.* i. 563, *Res dura et regni novitas*, "the difficulty of my position."

5. *Non avaritia, neque scelere]* "Neither from lust of plunder, nor from a wanton disregard of law and usage." *Scelus* is the breach of a positive law, human or divine.

6. *Coercitum]* i. e. *quod coerceri potest*, "to be controlled." See on ch. 76, and comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 30, *delatores genus hominum poenis quidem nunquam satis coercitum*.

CHAPTER XCII.

1. *Trahebantur]* This word signifying here an *improper, illegitimate*, application, refers properly to the latter clause, and only by *zeugma* to the former.

4. *Deorum nutu...portendi]* "Revealed to him by divine decree." The whole passage seems to be imitated by Q. Curtius, iii. *jam primum nihil sine divina ope aggredi videbatur; nam cum esset præsto ubique fortuna, temeritas in gloriam cesserat*.

3. **Non eadem asperitate...haud secus difficile]** "Not so perilous, but equally (not less, see on c. 20) difficult." *Asper*, fig. fierce, violent, destructive; in which sense it is often joined with *bellum, fata, &c.*

4. **Inter ceteram planitiem]** i. q. *in cetera planitie.* Comp. c. 88, *inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnum.*

5. **Administrare]** *Subaud. operi.*

CHAPTER XCIII.

1. **Aversum proeliantibus]** "On the opposite side to where they were fighting."

2. **Animum vertit]** "Seized his mind," or "struck him."

3. **Coaluerat]** The prep. is merely intensive, as in *Suet. Aug. 92, palmam in compluvium...transtulit, utque coalesceret magno opere curavit.* Ovid, *Art. Am. ii. 649, Dum novus in viridi coalescit cortice ramus.* And fig. *Tac. Hist. i. 21, dum Galbae auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis nondum coaluisset:* "had not yet grown to maturity."

4. **Castelli planitiem perscribit]** Draws a plan of the fortification as it lay flat beneath him. By *perscribit* is generally understood, "reconnoitres," "examines," i. q. *perlustrat.* But authority for such a sense is wanting, and there seems to be no difficulty in supposing that the man drew some rude plan. But the passage is probably corrupt: *in castelli planitiem pervenit*, is the reading adopted by Kritz, with the authority of a few MSS.

CHAPTER XCIV.

1. **Qui ascensuri erant]** The reading of many MSS. seems preferable to the common reading *qui centuriis praeerant:* it is not the four centurions only, but the whole body, nine in number, who are spoken of.

2. **Offensa]** Comp. *Liv. vii. 36, miles offensus scuto prae-buit sonitum.*

3. **Dubia nisu]** i.e. *nisui.* Comp. *Propertius, iv. 4. 81, Mons erat adscensu dubius.*

4. **Potissimus tentare]** "He tried first of all."

5. **Digrediens]** "Stepping aside," i.e. to leave room for the others to ascend.

6. *Signa canere*] Understand *cornicines* as the subject.

7. *Vadere*] "To march" or "stride." Lucan, ii. in fin. *Vadis adhuc ingens populis comitantibus exul.*

CHAPTER XCV.

1. *Quos*] Referring to *equites*, understood in *equitatus*.

2. *Ex Latio*] i.e. from the *socii Latini nominis*, such Italian towns as had the Latin franchise.

3. *L. Sisenna*] This historian, one of the Cornelian gens, and partial perhaps on that account to Sulla, wrote a history of the social war and the civil wars of Sulla and Marius. He was born about 118 B.C., and was praetor in 78, the year in which Sulla died. Cicero speaks of him, *de Leg.* i. 2, *Brut.* 76, and esteemed him superior as an historian to his predecessors. About 150 fragments of his great work are preserved, but very short and unconnected.

4. *Familia prope jam extincta*] So Velleius, ii. 17, says of him; *L. Corn. Sulla natus familia nobili, sextus a Cornelio Rufino, qui bello Pyrrhi inter celeberrimos fuerat duces, quum familiae ejus claritudo intermissa esset, diu ita se gessit, ut nullam petendi consulatum cogitationem habere videretur.* Sallust speaks of the *familia* of the Sullae, a branch of the Rufini. The Cornelii were a numerous and distinguished gens in early times, and were subdivided into several *familiae*, e.g. patrician: Arvina, Blasio, Cethegus, Cinna, Cossus, Dolabella, Lentulus, Maluginensis, Mammula, Merenda, Merula, Rufinus, Scapula, Scipio, Sisenna, Sulla. Of these the Lentuli and Scipios had various *agnomens*, distinguishing individuals. The plebeian Cornelii were Galli and Balbi. Sulla introduced a vast number of his own clients and dependents into the Cornelian gens, and under the empire it was undoubtedly the most extensive of all the Roman houses.

5. *Otio luxurioso esse*] Sub *coepit*, i. q. *erat*, "debauched in his intervals of leisure." The gross debauchery imputed to Sulla (but we must remember how many enemies he had made) is painted in strong colours by Plutarch in his life. He was said to have died of a loathsome disease brought on, we may suppose, by intemperance.

6. *Nisi quod*] Complete the sentence thus: *nisi huic laudi repugnat quod.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 33, *ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate...indomitum animum in bonum trahebat, i.e. quae res non poterat non damnosa fieri*

nisi salubrem temperationem hoc attulit quod &c. xiv. 14, notos quoque equites operas arcnæ promittere subegit donis ingentibus (supply, qui propter turpem pecuniae cupidinem detestabiles videntur) nisi (scil. eo excusandi sunt) quod merces ab eo qui jubere potest vim necessitatis affert. Kritz.

7. De uxore potuit honestius consuli] "His conjugal affairs might have been more decently managed." Plutarch mentions his marrying as many as five wives, which seems, notwithstanding the facility of divorce and laxity in such matters among the Romans, to have been considered a scandalous excess. He repudiated Caelia, expelled Metella from his house on her death-bed, and degraded himself by his last marriage with Valeria. See Plut., *Sull.* 35.

8. Amicitia facilis] "Ready in proffering his friendship."

9. Altitudo ingenii] "Deep reserve of character." Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 25, exercenda est etiam altitudo animi, and Tac. *Annal.* iii. 48, neque loco, neque vultu mutato, altitudine animi. Cicero gives the Greek word *βαθύτης* as corresponding with it: *ad Att.* v. 10. Kritz *in loc.*

10. Felicissimo] Sulla obtained the title of Felix, for his ironical success in war, which afterwards gave rise to many ironical allusions. Lucan, ii. 221, speaking of the proscriptions; Hisne Salus rerum, Felix his Sulla vocari, His meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere Campo? *Felix* is a word of good omen, not to be predicated of a tyrant however successful.

CHAPTER XCVI.

1. Igitur] After a digression, "To return, then."

2. In paucis tempestatibus] i.e. *intra parvum tempus*. Comp. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 40, binas in singulis annis conversiones facit. So *in brevi spatio* or *in brevi* for *intra*.

3. Ut illi quam plurimi deberent] *Illi* for *sibi*: a negligence not unfrequent: comp. Cic. *de Leg.* i. 7, quibus autem haec sunt inter eos communia: *pro Rosc. Am.* 34; *pro Sest.* 24; Corn. Nepos, *Hannib.* 11. At Eumenes...nihil reperit nisi quod ad irridendum eum pertineret.

4. Joca] Only this form used in the time of Cicero: afterwards *joci*, *jocos*.

CHAPTER XCVII.

1. Belli atque pacis rationes trahere] "Was slowly weighing the arguments for war or peace:" *trahere* implies the delay

and hesitation of his counsels. Comp. the shades of meaning in the word in c. 92 and again in 98.

2. **Nulla impedimento]** Priscian, vi. 7. 36, vetustissimi solent omnium in *-ius* terminantium genitivum, etiam in *-i* genitivum et in *-o* dativum proferre. Cic. *pro Mur.* 12 (if the reading is correct), ei quoque carmen compositum est, quum ceteris rebus absurdum, tum vero nullo usui utrisque. Caes. *B. C.* ii. 7, nullo usui. *B. G.* vi. 13, nullo concilio adhibetur. But it may be the ablative in this place, as in Cic. *ad Att.* x. 18, majore impedimento fuerunt."

3. **Simul—et]** "No sooner—than." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 25, simul coeptus dies, et aderant in semisomnos.

4. **Aut instrui aut sarcinas colligere]** "Before the army was arrayed for fighting, or had (even) put the baggage together" (as usual before action). *Sarcina*, the soldier's pack or bundle: Juvenal, ii. 103, speculum civilis sarcina belli.

5. **Latrocinio...proelio]** This opposition is frequently employed. Comp. Liv. xxix. 6, latrocinii magis quam justo bello gerebatur res. Cic. *in Catil.* i. 10.

6. **Veteres (novique)]** The last word should be put in brackets as suspicious, though found in all the MSS., except one. It is explained, "the Romans being veterans and recruits, and on that account skilful in warfare," i.e. because they were not all recruits. Sallust had used a similar combination, ch. 87, sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium aequalis facta: from which *novique* may have been foisted into this passage.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

1. **Manu consulere, etc.]** "Since he could not aid his men as a general by giving orders, he aided them as a private soldier, by taking part in the combat personally." So *ante* ch. 39, armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat.

2. **Pro se]** "In their own favour."

3. **Ex copia rerum consilium trahit]** "Drawn out his plans from the various resources before him;" implying difficulty of choice rather than hesitation.

4. **Neque minus]** i. q. *non minus*: *neque* properly is equivalent to *et non*; but the copula is out of place here.

5. *Pleno gradu*] "In quick time." Veget. i. 9, militari gradu xx. millia passuum horis quinque, duntaxat aestivis, conficienda sunt. *Pleno autem gradu*, qui citatior est, xxiv millia peragenda sunt. Quicquid addideris jam *cursus* est, cujus spatium non potest definiri.

6. *Feroces*] "In their arrogance."

CHAPTER XCIX.

1. *Per vigiliis...canere*] The night was divided into four watches, measured by the clepsydra or waterclock, and the changes were indicated by the sound of the trumpet and horn. Veget. iii. 8, a tubicine omnes vigiliae committuntur, et finitis horis a cornicine revocantur: per vigiliis, "for the watches," i.e. on account of. Comp. for this use of *per*, c. 79 and 85.

CHAPTER C.

1. *Quadrato agmine*] "In a hollow square," i.e. arranged for defence in front, flanks and rear, with the baggage in the middle. The figure however was not a regular square, but an oblong.

2. *Dextimos*] "The extreme right." Priscian, iii. 3. 19, speaks both of *dextimus* and *sinistimus*.

3. *Minime cari*] "Whose lives were least valued." The primary sense of *carus* is "precious," as opposed to *vilis*, "worthless;" in a secondary sense "beloved."

4. *Item*] i. q. *etiam*, "compelled his men also to hold themselves prepared."

5. *Neque secus, atque, etc.*] "He entrenched himself after each day's march not less diligently than he marched."

6. *Non tam diffidentia futurum quae*] i. q. *fore quae*. Comp. A. Gell. i. 7, who shews by many instances that the fut. in -rus was used by old writers as an infinitive, without regard to concord in number or gender: e.g. Laberius in Gemellis: non putavi hoc eam facturum. This unusual construction has perplexed the transcribers, and occasioned great variations in the MSS. *diffidentia*, "from distrust."

7. *Malo*] i.e. *poena*. Comp. Terent. *Andr.* i. 1. 44, malo coactus qui suum officium facit. Liv. ii. 54, malo domandam tribunitiam potestatem.

8. *Nisi tamen*] i. q. *sed tamen*, with a parenthetic clause: "But, however this may be, he conducted the public affairs as well as if he had exercised the harshest discipline." *Rem publicam bene gerere*; i. q. *rebus gestis bonum publicum augere*.

CHAPTER CI.

1. *Citi*] i.e. *citato cursu*. *Comp. pleno gradu*, note 5, c. 98.

2. *Aeque*] i.e. *aequo modo paratis*, "He calculated that some of the whole number, having all an equal chance, would arrive."

3. *Quos...neque*] i. q. *quos...quique non*. *Comp. Cic. de Fin. ii. 2*, *finem definiēbas id esse quo omnia, quae recte fierent, referrentur, neque ad ipsum usquam referretur*: i.e. *quodque ipsum nusquam referretur*. *Terent. Adolph. i. 2. 4*, *quem neque pudet quidquam nec metuit quemquam*: i.e. *quique non metuit*.

4. *Numida...ad pedites*] Jugurtha turns to the troops which Volux had just brought up. He addresses them in Latin, in order that the Romans with whom they were engaged might hear what he said: for it was the Romans rather than his own men that he wished to deceive. *Milites*, which follows, is, "the Roman soldiers."

5. *Atrocitate rei*] i.e. by the mere thought how shocking such a disaster would be, without considering the credibility of the asserter.

6. *Barbari animos tollere*] What Jugurtha said in Latin may have been interpreted to the Numidians, or his mere action may have encouraged them, still more the evident consternation of the Romans.

7. *Tum spectaculum horribile, etc.*] This passage is closely copied by Tacitus, *Agric. 37*, *tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum, etc.*

CHAPTER CII.

1. *Post diem quintum, quam*] An anomalous construction for *die quinto post quam*.

2. *Rex Bocche*] This commencement of a speech with the name of the person addressed, and the prefix of "king," neither of which are usual, imply peculiar respectfulness.

3. *Persequi*] More properly *persequendi*; but the infin. follows the idea of *non cogeres*, implied in *demeres necessitudinem*.

4. *Inopi*] This word may be enclosed in brackets. If it agree with *populo*, it must mean that the Romans had continued feeble from the first: if with *principio*, it should be written *inope*, and transposed, *ab inope principio*. But it is supported by the MSS. generally. *Imperi*, written perhaps *impi*, is a plausible conjecture.

5. *Offensae minimum, gratia par*] “Very little opportunity for quarrelling, and as much regard and favour as if we were your near neighbours.”

6. *Parentes*] “Subjects.” See note on *Jugur. 3*.

7. *Cui scilicet placuisse*] “Whom it has pleased.” The infin. governed by *scilicet*, i.e. *scire licet*: as *Jugur. 113*, *quae scilicet...occulta pectoris patefecisse*. *Fr. Hist. i. 19*, at *scilicet eos...gratiam ab eo peperisse*.

8. *Pro delicto suo*] “In excuse for his fault.”

9. *Unde vi Jugurtham expulerit*] Many MSS. and Eddread *expulerat*. Bocchus had not expelled Jugurtha from any part of his dominions; but this latter reading would make the author assert the fact. *Expulerit* may imply that Bocchus made the assertion, which was a false one. Translate: “A part of Numidia, says he, from which he pretends to have expelled Jugurtha, had become his own by the right of conquest.” Ciacconius conjectured, *si inde Romanos expulerit*: and other corrections have been proposed: but there seems to be no satisfactory way of explaining the passage.

CHAPTER CIII.

1. *Turrim...quo*] See note 3 on c. 66, *Vagenses, quo Metellus praesidium imposuerat*.

2. *Praesidium*] According to the construction, merely in apposition to *perfugas*; but with a pregnant sense, i.e. “so as to be a garrison.” *Comp. Tac. Ann. i. 3*, *Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Marcellum...et M. Agrippam extulit*. *Liv. i. 8*, *Romulus locum...asylum aperuit*.

3. *Venerant*] i. q. *evenerant*. *Comp. Liv. i. 7*, *priori Remo augurium venisse fertur*.

4. *Sine decore*] “Without the ensigns of their office as ambassadors.”

5. **Pro vanis hostibus]** "As enemies trying to impose upon him with the false pretence of being accredited on an embassy."

6. **Ut meriti erant]** "As they might reasonably have expected," coming as they did without credentials.

7. **Largitio]** "The giving of largess;" i.e. treating with a view to corruption.

8. **Munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens]** i.e. *bene volens*: "no man was deemed liberal, but he was supposed to be to the same extent gracious and kind:" i.e. in those days people were so simple that they conceived, if a man gave his money freely, it must be from natural kindness of disposition; they had no suspicion of any ulterior object.

9. **Aut utilia aut benevolentiae]** "Either advantageous to the Romans, or likely to conciliate their favour." *Benevolentiae*, the dative: implying *object* or *intention*.

CHAPTER CIV.

1. **Ea...placere]** i.e. *utrumque placuit*, both *potestatem eundi dari*, and *inducias concedi*.

2. **Stipendium]** "The pay for the soldier from the public treasury." *Stipendium*, properly "pay for service performed," *salarium*, "provision for service undertaken."

3. **Deprecati sunt]** In a pregnant sense: i. q. *postquam deprecantes dixerunt*: "they urged in excuse."

4. **Delicti gratiam]** "Pardon for his fault." Comp. *Catil.* 52, *qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecissem.* *Fr. Hist.* iii. 34, *post reditum eorum quibus senatus belli Lepidani gratiam fecerat.*

CHAPTER CV.

1. **Funditorum Balearium]** "Slingers from the Balears," the islands Majorca, Minorca and Iviza. The Romans employed the services of these people as skirmishers. Comp. *Caes. Bel. Gal.* ii. 7; *Flor.* iii. 8; *Liv.* xxviii. 37, etc. Their name was supposed to be derived from the Greek *βάλλειν*.

2. **Cohors Peligna]** i.e. a cohort of auxiliaries from the country of the Peligni in the centre of Italy. These auxiliaries are mentioned also in *Livy*, xxv. 14; xlv. 40.

3. **Cum velitaribus armis]** Accoutred as *velites*, or light skirmishers, with a sword and a bundle of javelins for attack, and a broad shield, *parma*, without heavy armour, for defence.

4. *Efficiebant*] Governing *metum* directly, and *numerum* by zeugma: "made their number to appear greater than it really was, and caused fear on the part of their enemies." With *metum efficiebant* comp. *Catil.* 42, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant.

5. *Sese...expedire*] "To lay aside the *impedimenta*;" "to make ready for battle."

6. *Intendere*] Properly of stringing bows: here generally "to prepare their weapons."

CHAPTER CVI.

1. *Interiturae vitae parceret*] Comp. Lucan, i. 462, *ignavum rediturae parcere vitae*: an expression caught, it would seem, from this place. We have already remarked the frequent echo of Sallust in Lucan.

2. *Coenatos esse*] Sub. *jubet*, "to have done their supper:" the perf. implies the immediateness with which the order was to be executed.

3. *Ante eos*] "In front of them," i.e. of the Roman forces. As the *equites Mauri* themselves formed part of these forces we should rather expect the reflexive pron. *se*.

4. *Manu vindicandum*] "They should avenge themselves by putting him to death."

5. *Apud illum*] "With him:" *apud* implying close local connexion. Comp. *Jugur.* 24, *si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissae*.

CHAPTER CVII.

1. *Ab inermis pedibus*] The form *inermis* seems to be used indifferently with *inermis* by the earlier writers. Transl. "from feet which bear no weapons." Comp. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 103, *qui clam, qui semper inermis Rem gerit*: "fights his battles without weapons."

2. *Coecum corpus*] "The blind part of the body," i.e. "the back." The expression is taken from Xenophon, *Cyrop.* iii. 3. 45, *μωρὸν γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἄοπλα καὶ ἄχειρα ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας*.

3. *Ex castris abire*] Comp. 35, *Massiva profugus ex castris abierat*. 68, *Metellus...e conspectu abit*.

4. *Haberet...ejus*] *Illum* referring to Jugurtha: *patre suo*, his (Volux's) father, *Bocchus*; *ipse filius*, Volux himself.

5. *Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata*] "This course, considering there was no better under the circumstances, was approved." Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 2, nonnihilo, ut in tantis malis, est profectum: *de Senect.* 4, multae erant in Q. Fabio, ut in homine Romano, literae.

CHAPTER CVIII.

1. *Orator*] i. q. *legatus*, as frequently in Livy. Comp. i. 15; ii. 13; v. 15; xxxii. 17; xxxvii. 21, etc. Virg. *Aen.* vii. 153; viii. 505; xi. 100, 331.

2. *Consulta...integra habere*] "That he had preserved inviolate the covenant existing between them."

3. *Neu Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret quo res communis licentius gereretur*] *Licentius*, i. q. *liberius*, "that Sulla should not, through distrust of Jugurtha's envoy, Aspar, who was to be present, refrain from a free discussion with Dabar about the affairs between himself and Bocchus." If this is the meaning, we should expect *quin* or *ne* instead of *quo*. But it would be difficult to connect this sense with what follows. Kritz's conjecture, *remoto* after *quo*, gives the contrary sense, and a much better one. Another conjectural reading is, *n. J. l. p.: cautum esse quo*, etc. In any case the passage seems corrupt.

4. *Punica fide*] "With Carthaginian bad faith," a proverbial expression applied to the Moors and Numidians as well as to the actual Carthaginians. Comp. Lucan, iv. 736, *Ut Libycas metuat fraudes infectaque semper Punica bella dolis*. For the proverbial bad faith attributed by the Romans to the Carthaginians, see Livy, xxi. 4; xxv. 39; xlii. 47; Flor. ii. 2. 6; Val. Max. vii. 4. 4, etc. Plautus has the phrase, *Poenis Poenior. Sil. Ital. i. 5, sacri quum perfida pacti Gens Cadmea super regno certamina movit*. On the other hand, *Attica fides* was an expression for good faith, Vell. ii. 23, *adeo enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit ut semper, et in omni re, quicquid sincera fide ageretur, id Romani Attica fieri praedicarent*. Ausonius, *Epist. x. 47*, contrasts *Poenia* with *Graeca fides*.

5. *Attinuisse*] "Kept in play, amused or engaged." *Attinere* is commonly used in a moral sense. So Sallust, *Frag. Hist. i. 19*, *ne nos in solitudine attineas*. But by Tacitus frequently for forcible detention: e.g. *attineri in custodia*.

CHAPTER CIX.

1. *Congressi*] i. e. Sulla and Bocchus, who afterwards retire to their respective camps, *in sua castra*.

2. **Ex sententia]** "In the confidence of both," therefore such a person as either would wish to have present. Comp. Plaut. *Capt.* ii. 2. 96, nec quenquam fideliozem...Nec qui magis sit servus ex sententia. A. Gell. iv. 20, quum censor dixisset: et tu ex animi tui sententia uxorem habes? not "such as you approve of," but "such as accords or sympathises with you."

CHAPTER CX.

1. **Nunquam ego ratus sum]** "I never *should have* thought." For the English conjunctive the Latin idiom here employs the indicative: comp. above, 11, quod verbum altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Cic. *de Off.* i. 23, ingenii magni est, non committere ut aliquando dicendum sit, non putaram, "I should not have thought it."

2. **Mehercule]** "Cortius contra codd. scripsit *hercle* quae forma comicis usurpata Sallustio obtrudi non debet." Kritz *in loc.*

3. **Id imminutum]** "The loss of this."

4. **Pretium]** This word seems, from the great fluctuation of MSS., to be a gloss. *fuert mihi*, "let it be mine."

5. **Integra]** Scil. *gratia*, "entire, undiminished;" as a score, no part of which has been repaid and obliterated.

6. **Bellum ego...neque feci, neque factum volui]** "I, for my part, neither made nor wished made."

7. **Id omitto]** "That I forego."

8. **Egrediar, intrare]** These verbs refer to the idea of boundaries implied in the mention of the river. Statius, *Sylv.* i. 3. 110, Finem Nestoreae precor egrediare senectae.

9. **Haud repulsus abibis]** Comp. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 97, nullam patiere repulsam. *Abeo* is used, like *discedo* (comp. *Catil.* 49, victus discesserat), for the event of an attempt or contest. So Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 278, eventus... pugnae Quis fuit? Hector abit violatus vulnere nullo.

CHAPTER CXI.

1. **Non in gratiam habituros]** "As for his promises, they would not regard them as a means to deserve their favour, since they had already got the upper hand in war." The accus. has a *pregnant sense*. About half the MSS. read *in gratia*, with the same meaning. See below, note on *in potestatem habuisset*, c. 112.

2. **Negitare]** "Repeatedly denied," urging various excuses in succession, as follows.

3. *Ad simulandam pacem*] "For making pretended overtures of peace."

CHAPTER CXII.

1. *Condicionibus*] "On mutual terms," as opposed to *arbitrio*, "at the conqueror's pleasure." Comp. *Vell.* ii. 109, Maroboduus finitimos omnes aut bello domuit aut condicionibus sui juris fecit. Liv. xxxv. 42, neque vi expugnare...neque condicionibus in amicitiam pellicere.

2. *Fidere*] Many MSS. read *confidere*; but the one is properly said of persons, the other of things. Kritz.

3. *Pacem conventam frustra fuisse*] Refer *conv.* to *pacem*, not to *frustra*, i. q. *pacem quae convenisset*. So *pax convenit*, above, c. 38. *Frustra*, adv. for partic. *frustratam*, or *irritam*, as frequently above.

4. *Ut una ab omnibus...veniretur*] "That they should all meet together," scil. Jugurtha, Bocchus, and Sulla.

5. *In potestatem habuisset*] The best MSS. read thus, not *potestat*. With *esse* and *habere* this construction is not uncommon. Comp. Cic. *pro leg. Man.* 12, quum vestros portus in praedonum fuisse potestatem sciatis. Liv. ii. 14, quae ne in potestatem quidem pop. Rom. esset. Caes. *B. C.* i. 25, quo facilius omne Hadriaticum mare in potestatem haberet. The idiom is further illustrated by Kritz *in loc.*

6. *Neque hominem...relictum iri*] "And that a man of noble birth would not be left in the hands of the enemy, *who had fallen into them* through no ill-behaviour of his own, but in the service of the republic."

CHAPTER CXIII.

1. *Vultu corporis*] "In external appearance:" the addition of *corporis* makes the opposition to *animo* more precise.

2. *Quae scilicet*] "Which things of themselves," namely, the external signs of his irresolution, the calling and then dismissing of his people, and the changes of his countenance.

3. *Facillimum visu*] "Convenient for keeping a look-out."

CHAPTER CXIV.

1. *Per idem tempus*] The capture of Jugurtha took place A.U. 648, B.C. 106. Caepio and the consul Manlius were defeated in Gaul in the following year, by the Cimbri, who are here confounded with the Gauls, being properly Germans. So Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 13, C. Marius influentes in Italiam Gallorum maximas copias repressit. Flor. iii. 3; Diodor. v. 32; Apian, *Illyr.* 4. For the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones,

see Florus, iii. 3, and particularly Plutarch, in his life of Marius, who defeated and destroyed them in the two great battles of Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae.

2. **Quo metu]** “In consternation at which defeat.”

3. **Illique, et inde usque, etc.]** “Both the Romans of that day, and since, down to my own times.” This harsh and ungrammatical sentence Kritz would emend conjecturally, by reading *ibique* (i. q. *et tum*), for *illique*; “both then and since.”

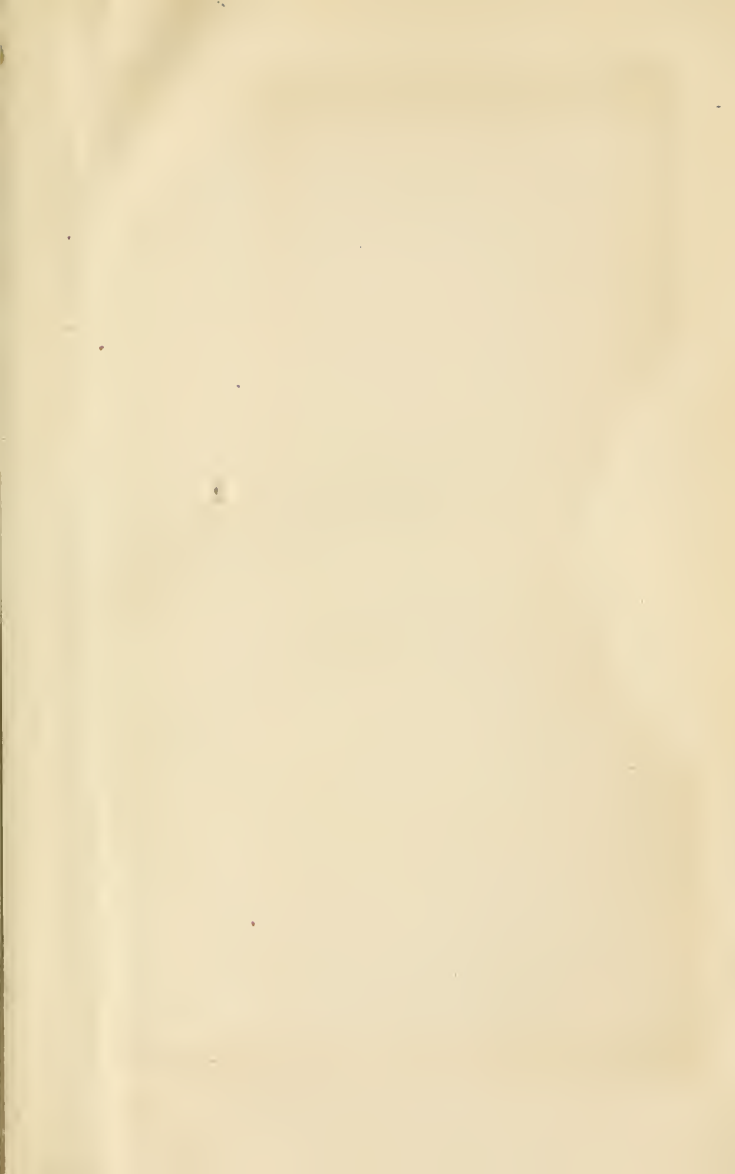
4. **Sic habuere]** “Have been convinced of this.” Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xiv. 4, *sic habeto, mi Tiro, neminem esse qui me amet quin, etc.*

5. **Prona]** “Easy to be subdued,” i. q. *facilia*, with which it is joined, c. 80, *id facilius proniusque fuit.*

6. **Pro salute, etc.]** Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 12, *cum Cimbris bellum gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret.*

7. **Absens]** This was contrary to the law, which required that a candidate for the consulship should appear in the forum on three successive *nundinae*, and canvass the voters. A general who waited for a triumph might not enter the city, and accordingly was in strictness prevented from suing for the consulship. To be released from this law was considered a great honour and favour. Julius Caesar claimed a triumph for his victories in Spain as praetor, A.U. 694; but he was eager to obtain the consulship, and was compelled to forego the coveted honour in order to acquire the more valuable dignity.

8. **Triumphavit]** Marius triumphed over Jugurtha on the first of January, 650, the commencement of his second consulship. Jugurtha, with his two sons, was led before his car, and carried off to the Mamertine prison, under the Capitoline hills, where he was thrown into the lowest dungeon and left to starve. Plut. *Mar.* 12. Captive generals thus led in triumph were often put to death immediately afterwards, as Vercingetorix by Caesar, generally strangled. But in other cases they were allowed to live. Marius was considered vainglorious for entering the senate-house in his triumphal robe. Liv. *Epit.* lxvii.



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Sallust

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